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154

THE EARLY NAWABS OF THE CARNATIC (1650-1750.)

prepared and submitted

by

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PREFACE

In this work I have endeavoured to write a history of the Nawabs of the Carnatic over a period of a century. The history of the Nawabs of the Carnatic forms a very important study looking to the fact that it is the history of a principality the rulers of which contributed a great deal to the establishment of the British dominion in India.

But in attempting to write this history I have been compelled for want of space and for the more weighty historical reasons to restrict the period to a century, dealing only with the foundation and the spread of the dynastic rule of the Nawabs leaving ~~one chapter~~ the remaining part that of furnishing the decline to the future.

The establishment of this dynastic rule in Southern India, we propose to deal with, was a momentous though treacherous debut of a general of the declining Golconda government into the destiny of the rulers of the kingdom of Vijeyanagar. The growth and expansion was almost imperceptible, taking well nigh a century for complete development; but slow as the growth was, monstrous was the decline brought about by a series of treaties and engagements which leave a melancholy sense that the end was hastened in order to augment the British possessions in India.

The year 1749 has been chosen to mark a break in our history of the Nawabs of the Carnatic. The Battle of Ambur in August 1749 marks an epoch far more ~~important~~ real than is the case with many of the dates chosen, for convenience of historians as fresh starting points in their chronicles. The defeat and

death of Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan of the second dynasty of the rulers of the Carnatic, with whose fortune the affairs of the Carnatic had for five years been bound up, marked the end and the beginning of an era. And of the new era the flight of a member of the ruling house may be regarded as the inwuguration. With the dynasty of the rulers of the Carnatic has been immeasurably mixed the destiny of the British and French interests in Southern India, and the European Statesmen in India had no illusion that the year 1749 formed for them a break from the almost stagnant period just closed, which henceforth appeared to them no more than an interlude, unpleasantly interrupting the development of their own ideas of national expansion. The year taught them the doctrine, for the first time in history, of 'divide and rule', of which they made the greatest use, or rather misuse during the war of the Carnatic that was destined to destroy completely the political edifice so well built up by indiginous genius.

The break in our history is therefore very well justified, if for no other reason than that from the year 1749 a sort of reaction from a stable government sets in, which on the one hand was bound to be the undoing of the rulers of the Carnatic, and on the other hand was going to be the building of the political predominance of the European interests in India, moulding the political form of what was to be afterwards known as the British Empire in India. The new era is so stupendous in its interests, so colossal in its results and so immense in the historical material that it puts at the disposal of an historian that it would only be in the fitness of things to treat it a distinctly separate history having nothing in common with the period of growth

and expansion, save perhaps that of the historical continuity.

Such then, in its main outline are the reasons which dictate the period we have chosen. The period we have chosen was therefore, one characterised as a behevolent despotism, the supremacy of the dynastic interests in the Carnatic remaining during the period unquestioned. It was not till the battle of Ambur (August 1749), referred to above, that there emerged new conceptions and ideals of social and political interests, which were to take more tangible shape after the contests between the rival forces on the Coromandel coast with which the political history of the remaining Nawabs of the Carnatic may be said to be mainly concerned.

A complete list of sources consulted is given in the Bibliography appended. Three years have been devoted to the study of the subject. The research was carried out in the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, the B.B.R.A. Society, the Connemara Library, Madras, and the Government Record Office, Madras. The work at the last named place is embodied in the Thesis in the form of an appendix.

In conclusion, I must express my thanks for the willing guidance and friendly encouragement of the one under whom I have worked and to the Curator of the Government Record Office, Madras, for kindly permitting me to go through the Records.

April
1931.

BEMRAM A. MEHTIN.

C O N T E N T S.

Historical Introduction.

Chapter I. Mir Jumla.

Chapter II. Zoolfikar Khan.

Chapter III. Daud Khan Panni.

Chapter IV. Sadat-Ulla-Khan.

Chapter V. Dost Ali Khan.

Chapter VI. Safdar Ali Khan.

Chapter VII. A Revolutionary Interlude.

Chapter VIII. Anwar-ud-din Khan.

Chapter IX. Conclusion.

APPENDICES.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

The vast region known as the Karnatic is a large district of country stretching along the Coromandel Coast with the Northern boundary commencing from the Southernmost limits of the Guntoor Circar, and stretching as far as the Cape Comorin to the South.

The region below the river Coleroon may be denominated the Southern Karnatic. It is subdivided into districts of Tinnevelly, Madura, Marawas and a part of Tritchinopoly and Tanjore.

The region between the rivers Coleroon and Pennar may be termed the Central Karnatic. It comprehends the remainder of Tritchinopoly, Volcondah, Jinjee, Wandiwash, Vellore, Chingleput and a part of the district of Nellore.

In extending along the Westward, the Karnatic was divided into two parts, one called the Karnatic below the Ghauts and the other called the Karnatic above the Ghauts. The Karnatic above the Ghauts formed a plateau about three thousand feet in elevation between the two ranges of mountains. The Karnatic below the Ghauts comprehended the country between the sea and the first range of mountains.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Empire of Vijeyanagar was in the zenith of its power under Narasimha Sāluva. The Vijeyanagar dynasty appears then to have extended its possessions and the whole of the Jinjee country and the part known as the South Arcot district passed in their hands.[1]

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1. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 101.

The Empire of Vijeyanagar continued to be in power till the year 1565 A.D. In January 1565 was fought the memorable battle of Talikota on the plains of Talikota between the Krishna and the Tungabudra, when the four Deccani Sultans of Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmednagar and Bedar combined in an irresistible confederacy and defeated Rama Raja of Vijeyanagar and blotted out of existence the Great Empire. As the result of the battle of Talikota the four confederates were enabled to extend their respective territories to a very appreciable extent. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda appear to have had the lion's share. The sultan of Bijapur " received the Doab, generally or the country between the rivers of Toombudra and Kristna, Mudgul, Rachoor, Adoni, Aulingpoor and Bagreetal."[1] The king of Golconda received " Kowillenda, Bankul (Ongole) and Kunpore (Gunpoor or Guntoor)"[2] Rama Rāja of Vijeyanagar was killed and the nominal Raja by name Sādasiva Rāya, and the brother of Rāma Rāja by name Tirumala took refuge at Tirupati.[3] Two decades after the battle of Talikota, followed the third usurpation in Vijeyanagar, when Tirumala usurped the throne. His successors continued as Rajas. But in the beginning of the sixteenth century the Capital was transferred at Chandragiri and then at Vellore.[4]

The Vijeyanagar Empire though apparently destroyed

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1. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 18.
2. Ibid.
3. Rev. Heras, The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara, I, p 222-23.
4. Ibid., p. 2 23,

remained yet a power in the south to be considered. As late as 1634 we find the sovereign of Vijeyanagar, Veknāta II, a man of volatile character, holding sway at Pulicat and St. Thome where his governors are posted to collect the revenue. He sent armies to take certain fortresses and other places which refused to be amenable to his rule. The Naik of Tanjore and the Naiks of the other minor principalities in the South paid him tributes. The European nations on the Coromandel Coast sent deputations to his court to obtain fresh grants from him. But already there were manifestations of the coming complete ruin of the Empire, which was accomplished in the time of his unfortunate successor Ranga III " a young man of great qualities and of great expectation ; ..... although he could not fight against his own fate."[1] The annihilation of the Empire led to the rise of the petty principalities with which the whole of the Karnatic from Krishna to Tanjore was virtually littered.

The ease with which the Empire of Vijeyanagar had fallen had created a sort of arrogance in the minds of the sultans of Bijapur and Golconda, who, in the ordinary course of human arrogance attributed the fall to their own invincible strength. The Extension of their respective boundaries became the ruling motive of both the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda. The two Sultans, although viewing each other with an eye of jealousy, united in 1641 by the marriage of the son of the King

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1. Rev. Heras, Three Contemporary Letters on the Vijeyanagara king Venkata II of the Aravedu Dynasty, Third Oriental Conference, pp. 332-35.

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of Bijapur to the daughter of Kutb Shah, the king of Golconda.[1] The outcome of the marriage alliance was an agreement between the two sultans to carry on depradations in the Karnatic, each with his own army with a secret understanding for the division of the spoils.[2] In this pact a very important part was played by Mir Jumla, the Vazir of the Golconda Sultan, whom we shall identify in the next chapter as the first Nawab of the Karnatic.

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1. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p. 98; also, Orme, Fragments, p. 62-63.

2. Orme, Fragments, p. 62-63.

CHAPTER I.

MIR JUMLA.

The son of an oil merchant of Isfahan, Mir Muhammad Said Ardastani, better known as Mir Jumla, left his native country Persia to seek adventure and make fortune in India. The first few months of his career are stated to have been spent in the Mogal Court and in the army where he had secured a high command by sheer dint of ability.[1] Soon getting disgusted with the treatment meted out to him by Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shah Jehan, the Mogal Emperor of India, he left the Mogal services to join in the services of the king of Golconda. The youthful Muhammad came to Golconda in 1630 and by trading ventures, especially at sea, and by working diamonds mines, he amassed much wealth and attracted the notice of the Court of Golconda and that of the Sultan,[2] who was much enamoured of his presents of elephants and clothes of Europe and China.[3] ~~Mir Jumla--now became the virtual~~ Thenceforth his rise was very rapid. His abilities enabled him to give a good account of himself in whatever offices he filled. The king thought too highly of him. There was no Omra at the Court who could vie with him in talents or wealth and the Sultan Kuth Shah atlast

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1. Catrou, Histoire du Mogol, II, p. 57.
2. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, I, p.232.
3. Ibid.

promoted him to be the vazir at the Court.[1] Mir Jumla now became the virtual ruler of Golconda, His industry, his talents, his administrative capacity and his military genius marked him out as one man in the state on whom the king could rely, and Kutb Shah relied upon him so much that nothing could reach his ears without Mir Jumla's approval.[2]

The Karnatic expedition, we have referred to above, was more the idea of the xaxx vazir than that of the Sultan.[3] In fact, the task of the extension of the Golconda boundaries into the Karnatic was chiefly assigned to Mir Jumla who set about it with thoroughness and energy. It is, however, not proposed to follow the vazir in every siege he undertook or every place he captured. We might only note the salient features and proceed with our narrative . The expedition started towards the middle of 1645.[4] Hitherto Kambam in the

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1. Love affair with the Queen mother "who still preserved her beauty in spite of old age" is stated to be the contributary cause of Mir Jumla's rise. - Catrou, Histoire du Mogol II, p. 57-58. Manucci refers to a similar love affair but with Kutb Shah's "best loved and most beautiful queen." - Manucci, Storia do Mogor, II, p. 233. The stories seem hardly credible. A man of the understanding of Mir Jumla knew full well the risk involved in trespassing upon the sanctity of a Sultan's harem; unless it be supposed that Cupid's arrow had struck him sorely, which however appears to be very doubtful. We might treat these stories as mere gossips which Manucci relates and Catrou repeats .

2. Tavernier relates how he travelled to the Court of Golconda to sell some jewels to the king and was told that the king does nothing without the vazir's approval. He had, therefore, to travel as far as Gandikot to finish the business he had on hand. Tavernier, Travels in India, I, p.

3. Bernier states " it ought to be mentioned that the Wazir having found a pretext for the invasion of the Karnatic pillaged all the idols...." Bernier, Travels, I, p. 17

4. Writing in September 1654 to the Company Fort st. George state "it had been no small misery that this poor Heathen country hath suffr'd any time these ten years almost since the Mors a... first made inroads into it." D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, I, p. 115.

in the Cudapah district was the utmost limit of Kutb Shah's acquisitions and he had failed to capture the uplands where the Raja of Chandragiri held sway.[1] Towards the end of 1645 we hear that Mir Jumla had advanced so far as the "gentus country, where the king hath sent Mollay,[2] who hath got together 50,000 soldiers, as reporte saith, where of 3000 he sent from Pullcatt[3] to keepe the more from intrenching upon the king's country."[4] In February 1646 Mir Jumla occupied three castles of the Raja, "whereof one of them is reported to be the strongest hold in the country; where Molay was sent to keepe it, but in a short time surrendered it unto Mir Jumla."[5] In November 1646 Mir Jumla besieged St. Thomé with 8,000 foot and 3,000 horse,[6] and by January 1647 he was in possession of Pullicat and St. Thomé, setting the country all in order as he went along and was reported very near " the king's court" with nobody to oppose him, the famine having destroyed all the kingdom[7]. By October 1647, "the king of Golcondahas general hath almost conquer'd this kingdome and reigneth as king under the title of Annabob."[8]

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1. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, I, p. 217

2. A general of the Raja of Chandragiri.

3. Twenty five miles north of Madras.

4. Besieged since 12-8-1645 by the Raja of Chandragiri. It was then in the hands of the Dutch.

4. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, I, p. 73

5. Ibid, p. 76 6. Ibid. p. 79

7. The English Factories in India, 1646-1650, p. 70

8. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, I, p. 76.

The whole of the Cuddapah district was in his hands, but the crowning feat of his achievements was yet to come. Gandicot, 42 miles North-west of Cudapah, is one of the best fortified towns in the Karnatic. It stands upon the top of an inaccessible rock with only a very narrow path to enter it. It was defended by "one of the best and bravest commanders among the idolators" who had only to guard a space of 400 to 500 paces wide. The siege continued for three months and Mir Jumla ordered all the Tanks in his service to carry guns to the height and bombard the place. In this attempt he was successful. Four guns were mounted against two which were all the garrison had to oppose. The gate was battered down and the garrison capitulated under honourable conditions.[1] In fine, Mir Jumla's conquests comprised the Cudapah and hilly country north of Vellore, from Gandicot towards the sea, with all the open country and the sea-coast between the rivers Pannar and Paliar.[2]

If Mir Jumla was occupied in the conquest of the

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1. Tavernier, Travels in India, I, p. 284-85. Thevenot says that cunning and money were used to reduce the place. He states that Mir Jumla invited the governor to a conference on assurance of free return to his fortress, but detained him till he gave orders for the surrender. I am inclined to believe Tavernier for the reason that he arrived at Gandicot on the 1st September 1652 only eight days after the place had surrendered and had therefore first-hand knowledge of the affair. Thevenot's explanation is however not unlikely for Mir Jumla would stoop to any means to secure the end.

It might interest the readers to note that while engaged in his conquests Mir Jumla still found time for his favourite hobby of the diamond mines re: Journal of Mythic Society, III, p. 127.

2. Orme, Fragments, pp 62-63.

Karnatic on behalf of the Sultan of Golconda, the forces of Bijapur were equally speedy in their conquests. Moving from the South, the Bijapore forces reduced Vellore and Jinjee with all the forts in the valley of Vaniambady , as far south of Dharmapuram, from hence eastward to Volcandah, and along the river Valarum to Porto Novo . Along the coast their conquests extended to the north as far as Conimmer,[1] to the south as far as Coleroon with all the forts and districts within the diagonal line returning to the north-west from Conimmer to Arcot.

Hemmed in between these two sides the light of the house of Vijeyanagar which had been flickering was now finally extinguished. Beaten by the forces of the king of Golconda and the sultan of Bijapur, the Raja lost his all and clung only to some petty estates "which were too poor to tempt Muslim cupidity or too difficult of access to his agressors."

The Karnatic was henceforth divided between Bijapur and Golconda and came to be differentiated as Bijapuri Karnatic and Golconda Karnatic. Mir Jumla had made himself the ruling prince of the latter. He had brought under subjection a large tract of country measuring 150 cos in length and 20 to 30 in breadth[2] and yielding a revenue of forty hundred thousand pagodas per annum.[3] He had a force of four thousand horse , three hundred elephants, four or five hundred camels, ten thousand oxen and finally foreign trade to Pegu, Tennaserim, Acheen, Persia, Bengal, Mokha, Peru and Maldivas all of his own.[4] He

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1 Ibid.

2. Inayat Khan's Shah Jehan Nama, Elliot, History of India, Vii, p. 108.

3. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, I, p. 100.

4. Ibid.

had several vessels and was building more. He had gathered together a great treasure which then existed in that province by looting the rich old temples of the South and by forcing the inhabitants to submit all that they had of gold and precious stones under the most cruel tortures.[1] But his growing power made him odious in the province and excited the jealous wrath of his master Kutb Shah of Golconda.

The Court of a prince is always seething with intrigues where fortunes are made rapidly and as rapidly destroyed. So it was in the case of Mir Jumla. Courtiers were not wanting to poison the ears of the king against his power, and the vazir soon came under the displeasure of the Sultan. The vazir is only a servant of the state; he is deputed by the state to the conquest, and has no right to claim any part of the conquest. Everything belongs to the state and therefore to the Sultan. But Mir Jumla looked at things from a different angle. The conquest of the Karnatic was the fruit of his own labour and his skill, and therefore he liked to retain it in his own possession. Such an idea could not be relished by the Sultan, who now persuaded him to return at once to Golconda. Persuasion having failed, order was resorted to, and Mir Jumla had to ~~recart~~ return to Golconda. But the vazir still remained a thorn in the side of the sultan who feared that he might be deposed. Attempts were, therefore, made to poison the vazir,[2] but he, having got the information once more escaped to the Karnatic. Kutb Shah now denounced open vengeance against his dangerous rival whom he had sought in vain to destroy.

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1. Catrou, ~~Hirstoire du Mogol~~, II, p. 59-60. Also see Thevenot, Travels in the Levant, III, p. 103.
2. Tavernier, Travels in India, I, p. 165.

Arrived at the Karnatic, Mir Jumla opened negotiations with Bijapur, Persia, the Hindu Raja of Chandragiri and Aurangzeb to defend himself against his master. He had already formed friendship with Dom Phillipes Mascarenhas, the Portuguese envoy at Goa with whom he exchanged presents; Dom Phillipes sending him " several kinds of brocade and procelain from China accompanied by many curiosities from Japan" in return for a number of jewels and diamonds from the mines of the Karnatic.[1] His alliance was always sought for by the king of Bijapur and the Shah of Persia. Both powers were too eager to join hands with him. But Mir Jumla only negotiated and was not in favour of any definite alliance with either of them. The Raja of Chandragiri also thought that if Mir Jumla's alliance was secured molestation at his hands would, in future, be safely averted. However, the only negotiation that Mir Jumla viewed with importance was the friendship and alliance of Aurangzeb. In him Mir Jumla met his match, and the cunning of the vazir of Golconda was for a time pitted against the cunning of the Viceroy of the Deccan.

Although the treaty of 1636 had made the Sultan of Golconda a vasaal of the Mogul Emperor of Delhi paying an annual tribute of two lacs of hun, the eye of the Mogals was always fixed towards the usurpation of this rich tract of land. At least, Aurangzeb, the youngest son of the ruling Emperor, who was then the Viceroy of the Deccan was bent upon annexing the

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, I,p.232.

place. He thought Mir Jumla's defection a fit opportunity for him to interfere in the affairs of Golconda.

The negotiations were therefore opened. Each played his own game. Mir Jumla was anxious for Mogul support, but bided his time evading a definite alliance..Atlast Aurangzeb finding him lukewarm reported the matter to the Emperor; " I think," he wrote, " that Mir Jumla does not wish to enter the Imperial service as he now holds a large kingdom with many fortresses, ports and strongholds, ... He will not leave that country so long as he can dexterously avert the hostility of the two Sultans."[1] The negotiations continued without any promises when an event occured which threw Mir Jumla into the hands of Aurangzeb.

Mir Jumla's son by name Muhammad Amin was at this time acting as his father's deputy at Golconda. He was a youth of haughty disposition and was many times carried away from his ordinary demeanour of expression to the Sultan. In November 1655, the young man was guilty of an atrocious act of presumption, and the Sultan, incensed at his conduct threw him and his family into prison and confiscated " whatever he possessed both in live stock and goods."[2] Aurangzeb who had always been waiting for an opportunity now wrote to Shah Jehan representing that " he might be permitted to march against him (Kutb Shah) in

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1. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, I, p.224.

2. Inayat Khan, Shah Jehan Nama, Elliot, History of India, VII, p. 109; also, Tavernier, Travels in India, I, p.166. Ferishta puts this event after Shah Jehan's mendate to Kutb Shah to permit Muhammad Amin with his effects to Court. -Ferishta ((Scott), I, p.410.

in person, and endeavour to liberate the captives; as supineness in resorting to arms would be a source of additional lethargy to the opulent lords of the Dekhin."[1] Shah Jehan wrote a letter to Kutb Shah asking him to release Mir Jumla's family. He also wrote to Aurangzeb directing him to " set out for his destination with the triumphant troops"[2] if Muhammad Amin was not released. It was a very big 'if', and Aurangzeb feeling his design would be frustrated, delayed forwarding this letter to Kutb Shah and ordered his son Prince Muhammad Sultan to make a dash for Golconda. But before the dash could be made Muhammad Amin and his relatives were released. Excuses were however not wanting. Kutb Shah had not yet delivered " the goods" he had confiscated and the sack of Hyderabad was inevitable. The king escaped in time to the fort of Golconda from where he sent caskets of jewels to Muhammad Sultan[3]. Aurangzeb joined his son early in February 1656, and the siege commenced. The fortress was as vigorously attacked as it was vigorously defended. The operations continued till the end of March when peace was made at the instance of Shah Jehan. Mir Jumla who had been honoured in December 1655 with the rank of five thousand[4] joined Aurangzeb towards the latter part of the siege of Golconda, and when the siege was raised accompanied him part of the way to Aurangabad and then proceeded to the Imperial Court where he had been summoned by Shah Jehan.

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1. Inayat Khan, Shah Jehan Nama, Elliot, History of India VII, p.110.
2. Ibid. (3) Ibid., p.111; also, Bernier, Travels, I, p.
4. Ferishta (Scott), I, p. 410.

The arrival of Mir Jumla at Delhi was marked with the greatest honours. The streets and by-lanes through which he was to pass were decorated and the greatest commanders and men of eminence came out to greet him.[1] Accompanied by very few people he arrived before the royal presence on the 8th of July 1656.[2] He was received with great pomp befitting only a royal personage.[3] His Majesty entertained him very courteously, and presented him with two elephants, two hundred and two lackeys and five lacs of rupees for his expenses[4]; made him vazir of the empire and created him "the greatest of the great" under the title of Umdatu-s-sultanatu-l-Kāhira Muazzam Khān.[5] In exchange Mir Jumla presented the king with rich jewels of great value including a diamond " generally deemed unparalleled in size and beauty" weighing when uncut 160 ruttles.[6]

While Mir Jumla, the new vazir was being entertained at Court many and varied intrigues were carried on as to the disposal of the Karnatic land. Kutb Shah who had been humbled and forced to accept rigorous terms saw that the land of the Karnatic would recompense his losses in the other direction. He intrigued hard to retain the rich province through his friends at the Court of Delhi, among whom was his Majesty's eldest son Dara Shuko. But Mir Jumla frustrated

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1. Manucci, Storio do Mogor, I, p. 237,
2. English Factories in India, 1655-60, p. 69.
3. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, I, p. 165; also, Manucci, Storio do Mogor, I, p. 237,
4. The English Factories in India, 1655-60., p. 71.
5. Mahammad Kazzim, Alamgir-Nama, Elliot, History of India, VII, p; 179.
6. The English Factories in India, 1655-60, p. 71.

his attempts. Though Kutb Shah took his stand on plea of justice, Mir Jumla pleaded in the interest of the Emperor himself , who, he said would lose a rich tract of land teeming with diamond mines and generally so fertile. In the end Mir Jumla carried his point. Karnatic was retained by the Emperor himself, but made over to Mir Jumla as jagir, to be held by him directly under the Emperor[1] with "seven years tribitt free."[2]

Before we proceed further with our narrative it would not be out of place to discuss the nature and significance of this new appointment and to exmine the reason why we treat Mir Jumla as the first Nawab of the Karnatic. The vast extent of the Mogal Empire made it necessary that the whole kingdom should be divided into distinct provinces over each of which is appointed a viceroy, later known as the Subah. The title, power and prerogative of a Subah would be best expained by denominating him as the vicar-general of the Empire. The Subah exercises the same authority over the destinies of the vasaals under him as the Emperor himself. Deccan formed one such division ruled over by a Viceroy of exceedingly great power and who, during the vigour of the Mogal Empire, had under his jurisdiction several large territories to which he had the right of nominating Governors. These Governors were designated as the Naibs or Nawabs or deputies, being the deputies of the Viceroy of the Deccan. The Nawabs were not, however, of necessity appointed by the Viceroy and it did not

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1. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, I, p. 246.

2. The English Factories in India, 1655-60, p. 91. Letter dated 2-8-1656 to Madras from one Mr. Symonds at Golconda.

infrequently happen that the Emperor made the appointment direct to exercise a certain check upon the powers of the Viceroy or the Subah. The Nawab from the very nature of his appointment is dependent; but in his own domain he is an autocratic chief as long as he can rely upon the confidence of his sovereign. He is despotic; he fears nothing save perhaps assassination at the hands of his subjects or his rivals. He is required to remit to the throne a certain tribute which may be a fixed sum or the revenues of the province under him less the expenses for carrying on the Government. In his province the Nawab is the highest authority combining in his title both honour and dignity. On him depends the security, happiness or misery of the province even as on the king depends the security of the Nawab and his favourites. The Nawabs as a rule attach themselves to the cammanders of the army and leave the Civil administration to the Divan. Karnatic was one of the Nawabships or the grand divisions of the great Subah of the Deccan.[1]

It has been stated that the Emperor Shah Jehan made over the Karnatic to Mir Jumla as jagir to be held by him directly under him, with seven years free tribute. The questin to be settled is whether this can justify us in naming Mir Jumla as the first Nawab of the Karnatic. What misleads one most is the term Jagir. Our modern meaning of the word would suggest that a jagir is a piece of land held as a family property of which the holders could not be

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1. This explanation of the nature of the office of a Nawab is based on Orme's History of the Military Transactions, I, p. 36-37; Orme's Fragments, pp 398 & 400; Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 216 ; D.D.M.L.T., Hydershah, p. 2 (note), 4, 5, 6, 45 & 46 (note) ; Mill, History of India, III, p 65-66; Owen Cambridge, An Account of the War on the Coromandel Coast, Introduction p (ii), and Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words & Phrases, p. 610.

rightly dispossessed and to which the legal heirs succeed as a matter of course. But evidently the present day interpretation is radically different from what it was in Mogal days . This is perhaps due to a revolution in many words and phrases of the indigenous languages since Hindustan passed away under the British rule. We may for the better edification of the readers quote in extenso the following proper explanatio of the word as current under the Mogals. "Jagir - A tenure common under the Muhammadan government, in which the public revenues of a given tract of land were made over to a servant of a state, together with the powers requisite to enable him to collect and appropriate such revenue and administer the general government of the district. The assignment was either conditional or unconditional; in the former case, some public service, as the levy and maintenance of troops, or other specified duty was engaged for; the latter was left to the entire disposal of the Grantee. The assignment was either for a stated term, or more usually, for the lifetime of the holder, lapsing, on his death, to the state, although not unusually renewed to his heir, on payment of a Nazārana or fine, and sometimes specified to be hereditary assignment, without which specification it was held to be a life tenure only. A jagir was also liable to forfeiture on failure of performance of the conditions on which it was granted or on the holder's incurring the displeasure of the Emperor. On the other hand, in the inability of the state to vindicate its

rights, a jagir was sometimes converted into a perpetual or transferable estate."[1]

It may perhaps have become apparent to the readers that a jagir holder is in a sense a Nawab although in a much restricted sphere. But the Nawab and the grantee of a jagir are appointed to collect the revenue and carry on the general government of the districts assigned to them. The appointments of both are virtually to be made by the Emperor, who retained the power in his hands to revoke them at his free will and choice. The hereditary principle was, it would appear, studiously excluded. Sons, however, succeeded their fathers to the jagirs on payment of Nazarana or fine; so, also, the later Nawabs succeeded in making the appointment hereditary in one family, although that was partly owing to the state being not in a position to vindicate its rights or exercise its authority, the Empire having become a hopelessly crumbling fabric. One main difference that distinguished a Nawab from an ordinary jagir holder lay in the extent of the possessions of each. The district assigned to the government of the Nawab was comparatively greater than that of the jagir holder. In fact, the Nawab is necessarily a jagir-holder, although every jagir-holder need not be a Nawab.

When Shah Jehan decided to hold the Karnatic in his hands, it was but natural that he should hand over the military and civil charge of the government of that country to a trusty servant of the state who had considerable experience. No man could fill the appointment better than Mir Jumla. He

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1. Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, p. 224.

therefore, appointed Mir Jumla over the Karnatic which was left entirly "to his disposall." The latter immediately on being confirmed sent 10,000 of his men[1] to take charge of the land, and appointed governors of districts who were to act in his place while he was engaged at Delhi. The Mir was expected to pay a tribute to the Emperor; but, he was, it would appear, exempted ~~to pay tribute to the emperor~~ from such payment for seven years.[2] A Nawab's appointment is generally made by the Viceroy of the Deccan, under whom he is supposed to be, and we cannot underestimate the influence exerted by Aurangzeb over the Emperor in obtaining for Mir Jumla this appointment; although it is doubtful whether Mir Jumla, the first Nawab of the Karnatic, held his appointment directly under the viceroy of the Deccan. One more point we would like to stress is that Mir Jumla held this appointment in a dual capacity. While appointed Nawab of the Karnatic, he was also the vazir of the realm, with the result that the minor appointment of the Nawab of the Karnatic was merged out of recognition in the major one namely that of the vazir of the Empire.[3]

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1. English Factories in India, 1655-60, p. 91. Letter dated 2-8-1656 from one Mr. Symonds at Golconda.

2. Ibid. - Mr. Symonds is however doubtful.

3. The use of the word jagir employed by Mr. Sarkar has compelled me to enter into this discussion although I am definite that Mir Jumla was the first Nawab of the Karnatic from the manner of his appointment, the extent of his territory, and the power exercised by him. Mr. C.S. Srinivachari in his "Relations between the Nawabs of Carnatic and the English" (Muslim Review, I) states that Zulfikar Khan was the first definite Nawab of the Karnatic. Was there then some other Nawab of the Karnatic before Zulficar Khan about whom Mr Srinivasachari is not definite and was not that man Mir Jumla?

The conquest of Bijapur and Golconda had always occupied the attention of Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla also shared in his views. While the vazir Mir Jumla was at Delhi, every preparation was on foot to send a powerful force to the conquest of Quandhar, a great ambition of Shah Jehan. But Mir Jumla exhorted on the riches to be found in the Deccani kingdoms; and aroused the Emperor's cupidity. He promised to deliver to the Emperor the two kingdoms and "making him lord of all the Coast of Choromandell and of Gingelli"[1] The prize offered was too tempting and the Emperor fell in with the views of the vazir. The Quandhar expedition was dropped. The Emperor awaited only a pretext to send an army in the Deccan. An opportunity soon occured. Muhammad Adil Shah, the seventh of the line of Bijapur, died in the beginning of November 1656 and Ali Adil Shah II, a boy of eighteen, was crowned king. But the new king's lineage was rather doubtful; He was supposed to be of an obscure parentage smuggled into the harem by the late king.[2] Atleast, this was what Aurangzeb reported to the Emperor, who, now ordered an army of twenty thousand horse to proceed to Bijapur with a number of his nobles among whom was Mir Jumla. It is not necessary to go into the details of the conquest made by Aurangzeb and Mir Jumla in the Deccan. This has already been done by abler contemporaries and historians. Suffice it to say, the Mogul forces occupied Bidar towards the end of March 1657 and Kaliani, 40 miles west of Bidar on 1st

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, I, p. 238-39 ; also Bernier, Travels, I, p. 24.

2. Inayat Khan, Shah Jehan Nama, Elliot, History of India , VII, p. 120.

August 1657, before Shah Jehan importunely ordered peace and recalled the principal officers, including Mir Jumla, who had been " the head and director of this campaign."[1]

Events were now beginning to move in quick succession The peaceful politics of Delhi were soon to receive the rudest shock that was to merge the whole Empire in wars and bloodshed. The Emperor fell suddenly ill in the beginning of September 1657, and it was believed he would not recover. The ill news at once set the machinery of the inevitable wars of succession in motion and all the princes though scattered in distant provinces made distinct bid for the Empire and the Crown. The eldest Dara had the best chance being the nearest and the favourite, and he did not miss the opportunities he had of putting down his brothers atonce and with a strong hand. He became the de facto ruler and all orders were issued by him in the king's name. Peremptory orders were sent to the Imperial officers in the Deccan to return to the Court, for this would weaken the hands of his greatest rival, Aurangzeb. All the officers obeyed the summons and proceeded to Agra without any notice.[2] Mir Jumla had however gone towards Parenda to compell the Bijapuris to cede the fort according to the terms of the treaty lately ratified between the Sultan and the Emperor. While at Parenda, he was served with fresh orders to return atonce to the Imperial presence. There was no help but to submit In obedience to the orders, he started with the force under his command for Aurangabad, intending to proceed from thence to the

1. Mahommed Salih Kambu, Amal-i-Salih, Elliot, History of India, VII, p.130.

2. Ibid., p.131.

capital. The situation of Aurangzeb now became ~~xkmax~~ critical in the extreme. He had expected to find in Mir Jumla a father, a friend, a protector, and a confident of his secrets,[1] and the same man was now going away to the Imperial camp. He sent him massengers desiring him to go for an interview.[2] But Mir Jumla was at no loss to divine the nature of the intelligence; he could not think of co-operating with Auragzeb when his wife and children were at Agra at the mercy of Dara Shikoh. Aurangzeb next sent him his son[3] Muhammad Sultan to bring the Mir with every expedient, Mir Jumla persuaded himself to go. When he arrived in Aurangzeb's chamber, he was arrested, his treasures, elephants, property and artillery were seized, and himself was detained in the prison fort of Daulatabad.[4]

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1. Catrou, Histoire du Mogol, II, p. 69.

2. Mahommed Salih Kambu, Amal-I-Salih, Elliot, History of India, VII, p. 131.

3. Ibid.

4. The point is whether Mir Jumla was privy to this plot. Historians and contemporaies differ. Kambu thinks that the Mir "acted in a very ungenerous and foolish manner and wanted to go off to Agra quite regardless of the duty to the prince" and was therefore imprisoned. (Elliot, History of India, VII, p. 131). Muhammad Kazim in his Alamgir Nama expresses the opinion that "this movement seemed injurious to the state and encouraging to the turbulence of the Dekhanis. Muazzam Khan had no sinister object in proceeding to the capital; but Aurangzeb as a matter of prudence and of state policy made him prisoner and detained him in the Dakhin." (Ibid. p. 180). Khafi Khan thinks that " Aurangzeb deemed it expedient, in order to avoid reproach, to leave Mir Jumla as a state prisoner at Daulatabad, while he himself marched against his enemies." (Ibid., p. 217) . Bernier states that Mir Jumla " consented to place the troops under Aurangzeb's orders to lend him money and what is even more extraordinary, to be conducted to the fortress of Daule t-Abad. (Bernier, Travels, I, p. 30)Sarkar thinks that the whole was a plot contrived between Mir Jumla and Aurangzeb, a kind of play-acting "to save the Mir's family at the capital from Dara's vangeance" (History of Aurangzeb , I 362,) But if this had been so, and if the Mir courted prison of his own accord, how do we interpret Aurangzeb's letter to the Mir wherein he [illegible] not because of disloyalty but because he insisted to return to court. (ibid p. 362).

The presence of the Nawab in the Karnatic had been a very great check on the aspirations of the Raja of Chandragiri (Sri Ranga III) to throw of his yoke and regain his lost kingdom. But Mir Jumla's proceeding to the Imperial presence removed that check with the result that the dispoiled Raja with several Naiks rose in rebellion. No records exist to show to what extent the Raja was successful in his designs. The meagre factory records reveal that the Raja with a force of 8,000 men captured the Pagoda of Tirupati, designing the conquest of Conjeveram, Chingleput, [illegible], Pullicat and Poonamally.[1] It would appear that his designs were not always very successful. We hear of " taking and retaking of places" with the forces of the Nawab and the Raja scattered in all places. In November 1656 we hear of two forces of the Raja, one under himself employed at the siege of Pullicat, where the Nawab's treasures were supposed to be, and the other under his general at Poonamally. The latter place would have easily surrendered but Conneri Shetti the Raja's general procrastinated, with the result that the Nawab's general Topaka Kistnappa Naik sent one Lingum Naigu with a strong detachment to the relief. The Raja, thereupon, raised the siege of Pullicat to join his general at Poonamally. The combined forces were however defeated and compelled to seek refuge in the English town of Madras where they were attacked by the Nawab's forces. Soon, however, peace appears to have been patched up.[2] We again

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1. English Factory Records in India, 1655-60, p. 99.

2. Ibid., p. 189-192; also, D.Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, I, p. 167.

see the Raja at the end 1659 recruiting his army on the borders of Jinjee with the Bijapur forces intending " ere long to be in the field with greater forces than before" while the Nawab's general Topaka Kistnappa strengthens himself by all possible means, following his enemies " to see if he can get another advantage before their whole powers be united."[1] But we hear nothing further.[2]

It is worth obversation that in this attempt on the part of the Raja to regain his lost kingdom, the English and the Dutch, the two European settlers on the Coast of C/oromandel/, were more or less concerned. But it is needless to go into the details of such incidents nor would that serve our purpose in as much as these transactions lie apart from the general current of events. Four European nations were contesting for supremacy of Oriental commerce - the Danes, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English. The Danes were of no practical importance. They had only one settlement, Tranquebar and their commerce was insignificant. The Portuguese though retaining their possessions were daily declining in power and resources. The Dutch had their head-quarters at Batavia. They possessed a factory at Masulipatam and an important fortified town at Pulicat, 25 miles north of Madras. They had monopoly of trade of the far east and were considered the most powerful. The English settlements on the C/oromandel/ consisted of a factory at Masulipatam and their trade was restricted. In 1639 they had obtained a site of

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(1) The English Factories in India, 1655-60, p. 135-36.

(2) Sarkar refers to the Raja trying to recover some of his former lands; but, it would appear, Mr. Sarkar is " not definite" - Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, I, p.251, note 1.

Madras City from Sri Ranga, the nominal Raja of Vijeyanagar and in 1646 the right to build a fort and bulwark and free trade paying only half custom to the Raja's Diwan.[1]

With the arrival of Mir Jumla in the Karnatic, both the English and the Dutch were anxious to keep in the good graces of the Nawab. They sent him their envoys, and he appeared more or less to befriend the English. He confirmed the privileges granted to the English by the Raja of Vijeyanagar.[2] The English however, were always complaining of their being harassed in their trade by the Nawab's servants. On the departure of the Nawab from the Karnatic in 1656 things began to assume a different colour. Within a month of his being presented to the Court (July 1656) the English won the Nawab's displeasure. An impression had been created that the Nawab would not return and rumours were afloat that he was imprisoned or that he was dead. Also, the Hindus were revolting and the English thought this a fit opportunity to wreak their vengeance for certain ill-treatments they had received from his creatures and they seized upon a ship of his, as it came lumbering past Fort St. George, on its way back from the Red Sea.[3] This occasioned the siege of Madras which was raised in December 1656 on the English restoring whatever they had of the Nawab in their possession. But the settlement of December 1656 was not long observed. The Nawab blamed the English with having lent assistance to the Raja of Chandragiri in his wars against the Mogals and for

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1. Appendix, p.2.
2. Ibid.
3. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, I, p. 166.

showing themselves in every respect hostile,[1] and he ordered the blockade of Madras. The siege lasted for seven months and was raised in April 1658, the English being left in the undisturbed possession of the town anf fort on payment of 380 pagodas per annum.[2] While, therefore, the English sympathised with and even helped the Hindus, the Dutch sympathised with the Nawab. The Raja, while occupied in the siege of Pulicat in November 1656, applied to the Dutch for help, but the latter excused themselves and would remain neutral as they were in a treaty bound to help the Nawab.[3]

Another man was also eager to take advantage of the Nawab's absence and of the general confusion on account of the wars of succession. This man was Kutb Shah of Golconda. He took the opportunity of capturing the forts of the Carnatic from the weakened forces of the Nawab and soon occupied Gandicot and Sidhout. It seemed as if his dreams of retaining the Carnatic in his possession would soon be realized.[4]

To return to the Nawab. We left him in the prisoned fort of Daulatabad while Aurangzeb was making preparations for the wars of succession. The history of that war has already been very vividly related by several historians and is beyond the scope of this work. Needless to say, Aurangzeb was the most successful of all the princes and in July 1658 his wish

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1. D. Love, Vestges of Old Madras, I, p. 169.
2. Ibid.
3. English Factories in India, 1655-60, p. 99.
4. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, I, p.247.

to be the emperor of Hindustan was atlast gratified. Aurangeb's success was in a large measure due to Mir Jumla's assistance, who, later rendered him inestimable help in running down Prince Shuja and bringing him to his miserable end. The Mir was rewarded with the titles of Khan-Khanan and Amir-Ul-Umra and entrusted with the charge of the Province of Bengal. Appointed governor of Bengal, Mir Jumla's interest, in the Southern territories of the Karnatic evaporated and that place passed a away into the hands of the Sultan of Golconda who now assumed full sway. The erstwhile Nawab of the Karnatic led an unsuccessful expidition into Assam, with a view, it was alleged, to carry his arms as far as China, reaped disappointment and expired on 30th March 1663 in his barge on his way to Decca, [1] a victim of the hardships of the campaign.

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(1) Bhattacharyya, a History of Mughal North East Frontier Policy, p.

CHAPTER II

ZOOLFIKAR KHAN

The removal of Mir Jumla from the Carnatic and his death in 1663 removed for the time being every semblance of Mogul authority in the Carnatic. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda, who had had per force to restrict their ambitions were now left free to do pretty much as they liked. The new Emperor had been but recently installed to the throne and the preliminary years of his reign engaged his attention to the north; so that he lost his hold in the Deccan or the Carnatic. That part of the Carnatic originally belonging to the Nawab Mir Jumla once more reverted to the hands of the sultan of Golconda. While the Sultan of Bijapur had also succeeded to extend his territorial possessions in that direction.

For our history of the Nawab of the Carnatics, therefore, the period 1663 to 1687 may be treated as a blank period, in so far as, no Nawab of the Carnatic deputed by the Mogul remained in the country. No doubt, with the records of the East India Company speaking of many Nawabs of the Carnatic during this period much unnecessary confusion is created in the mind; but those were not the Nawabs in the sense we mean. They were merely commanders-in-chief of the Golconda Sultan deputed by him to govern the place and to collect the revenue. We have a long list of these Nawabs and it would not be

out of place to mention them with the period of the government of each:-

(1) General Riza Kuli better known as Nawab Neeknam Khan. His period of government appears to have lasted for ten years 1662 to 1672

(2) Necknam Khan Sidi was succeeded in 1672 by Musa Khan sometimes called Khan Khanan. He ruled only for one year

(3) MackMusa Khan was superseded by Namdar Khan who remained from 1673 to 1675, but though he remained for a period of about two years, he is very little figure.

(4) Muskimia alias Mustakin Mia is the fourth name that appears on the list. He was succeeded by

(5) Muhammad Ibrahim in 1678. He remained in the post till 1682 and was followed by

(6) Podella Singapa. This man's authority was very great but doubt is expressed whether he was recognized as a Nawab in the sense the first five were. But the fact that his authority in the Carnatic was seemingly unchallenged from 1682 to 1686 induces me to put him down as the successor of Muhammad Ibrahim.

(7) Lingapa was succeeded by Abdul Nabee Khan about whom the Madras Diary of February 1686 speaks "as the governor in place of Lingapa"[1] Abdul Nabee Khan remained in the Carnatic till July 1686 when he was succeeded by Vineatty Putty,[2] who

(8) remained in the supreme command till the subversion ~~of the Golconda kingdom in September 1687~~[3]

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1 Madras Diary February 1686, Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Port St. George~~, 1686, p. 18.

2. Madras Diary July 1686 - Ibid., p. 51,

of the Golconda kingdom in September 1687.[1]

At this period of history another nation was just beginning to disturb the politics of the South. They were the Mahrattas under Sivaji. The exploits of Sivaji are all welknown as bible stories to the average christian and therefore do not need any further elucidation. Suffice it to say that by the time he died in 1680, the Mahrattas had become a power as a nation to be dealt with. Sivaji was succeeded by Sambaji, his son, who was "a dissipated youth who spent his time in female pleasure and excessive drinking."[2] The Emperor thought this to be a fit opportunity to set out in person to curb down the power of the Mahrattas, as well as, to exterminate finally the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, as the sultans of these kingdoms had become too insolent and offensive. The Emperor started from his capital in September 1681 and soon arrived at Burhanpur . The years 1681 to 1685 were spent in sundry campaigns against the Mahrattas which were not very dignifying to the arms of the Emperor. But although not very successful against the Mahrattas, his success against the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda made ample amends for the failure in the other direction and these little kingdoms were finally blotted out of existence by October 1687. The

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1. The records are so very confusing that it is feared no degree of accuracy can be claimed and the details may be improved upon by abler hands. However, in establishing this list any amount of trouble has been taken. Vestiges of Old Madras, Factory records from 1663-1687 and finally [illegible] records in the Madras Record Office and accounts of travellers of the time have all been gone through.

2. Ferishta, ~~History of the Deccan~~ (Scott), II, p. 55

extermination of these two kingdoms roused hopes that the Mahrattas would soon be put down but Aurangzeb miscalculated the strength of his foes who kept him engaged with them till the end of his long spent rule.

The kingdom of Golconda fell on 7th September 1687[1] after a siege of seven months. After the conquest, Aurangzeb appointed Muhammad Ibrahim[2] as the Subahdar of Hyderabad and the khan's confident Muhammad Ali Beg[3] called also Ali Askar Khan as the faujdar or Nawab of the Karnatic[4]. Soon, however, a change was made in the offices both of the Subahdar of Hyderabad and the Nawab of the Karnatic, for Muhammad Ali Beg gave place to Muhulla Khan and Ali Askar Khan was supplanted by Quasim Khan. The latter after his appointment "was directed to march to the Karnatak and conduct a vigorous war against the Maratha forces there."[5] He was superseded by Haticaid Khan, better known ~~as Zulfikarx Khan~~ as Zoolfikar Khan in 1690.

The fall of the Deccani Sultanates roused the Mahratta Raja Shambaji to a full sense of his weak position. He realised the danger threatening his possessions in the Karnatic, for the Mogals had by now been carrying on their depredations

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1. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, V, p. 56.
2. The ~~highest~~ greatest noble who deserted his king in his hour of trial
3. He was the governor of Musulipatam before his appointment: Madras Diary 21-11-1687. Diary and consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1687, p. 180.
4. Ibid. p. 180 & 184 ; D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, I, p. 514.
5. Madras Diary 12-12-1687. Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1687, p. 194. Also, Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 215 and Ferishta, ~~History of the Deccan~~ (Scott), II, p. 75

in that direction. In October 1686, therefore, he sent Nesho Trimbek Pingle at the head of a powerful force to assume charge of the government of Jinjee country established by Sivaji during his expedition to the Karnatic in 1677-78. But the Mahrattas in the Karnatic were divided amongst themselves and they failed to present a united front to their enemies. Their forces during the best part of the years 1686-1689 were engaged in Civil wars, the main result of which was that the Karnatic was given up to shameful ravages which virtually pilled it up to the bones. The people were subjected to enormities on all sides, for the Mogals were not behind the Mahrattas in plundering the country and subjecting the inhabitants to indiscriminate ravages.

In February 1689 Sambaji was captured and put to a cruel death. With his capture and execution great hopes were entertained that the Mahratta resistance would collapse and all evidence tended to point out the same fate. For a time the tide continued against them, but far from being disheartened, Raja Rama the brother of Sambaji, carried on the Mahratta government , and after making arrangements for Mahrashtra and for the reassemblage of his friends round the national flag, he shifted to Jinjee. The move towards Jinjee was a diplomatic feat as the movement would divert the Mogal army from their capital Poona, and thus fighting against the divided forces of the Mogals, Raja Rama may gain the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda. This movement gave a great impetus to the Mahrattas and the year 1690 saw the temporary decline of the Mogal success. At this set back Aurangzeb thought it wise to send one of his best generals Eaticand Khan better known as Zoolfikar Khan, the son of

As ud Khan, the Prime-minister, against the strong-hold. Zoolfikar Khan thus supplanted Quasim Khan in the Government of the country. Apparently Aurangzeb's obeject was to catch the "the lion's whelp before he grew up," hoping to destroy it in the fortress of Jinjee. Zoolfikar Khan was an able commander and certainly a clever hunter of what was afterall an insignificant lion's whelp.[1]

At the end of November 1689 he was detached from the Imperial camp at Koregaon as the supreme commander of the whole of the Karnatic which place he reached marching through Raichur, Kadapah and Garamconda. At the latter place he had the satisfaction of completely overthrowing a large Mahratta army under Ismail Mukh and Ajit Nair and of taking several forts belonging to the enemy.[2]

Zoolfikar Khan had now become the formal Nawab of the Karnatic although his confirmation did not come till August 1693.[3]

The fortress of Jinjee lat 12 16", long 79 27", 82 miles south-west of Madras occupied a very central position and was the key commanding the way from Arkot to Trichinopoly and dominating practically the whole of the Karnatic. It occupied several hills on each of which was a fort bearing a distinct name.[4] The hills were stiff and rocky and impossible of ascent. The strongest peak was the Rajgiri, the fortress built upon this hill

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, II, p. 315

2. Ferishta, (Scott), II, P.80. Ismail Mukh joined Aurangzeb later with his whole family. Ajit Nair remained faithful to Ram Raja to the end.

3. Madras Diary August 1693 - Diary and Consultation book of Fort St. George, 1693, p. 116,

4. Khafi Khan's Muntakhabu-L-Lubab: Elliot, History of India, VII, p. 348.

being almost impregnable. It was only accessible through a very narrow path that led from the lower fort below, from the south-west, through gates in three lines of loop-holed walls built one above the other on the ridge across the road and atlength scaled a mass of rock, the top of which was nearly level with the summit of the citadel. But at this point, on the north side of the cliff, a great natural chasm, some 24 feet wide and 50 feet deep, separated this mass of rock from the topmost terrace of Rajgiri.[1] This chasm the former owners had artificially lengthened and widened, and theyhad made the only entrance to the citadel pass across a narrow wooden bridge leading to a stone gate commanded by more embassures and loopholes. This point was so impregenable that it could be defended by ten men against ten thousand.[2] The two other hills, the northern and the southern, are shown in Orme's plan as the "English mountain" and "St. George's Mountain" respectively. Three gates led to the fort and they were - the Vellore gate, the Pondicherry gate, and the Port du diable (the Devil's gate)

The imposing Jinjee was a no mean fortress as could be captured without the necessary munitions for bombardment . Arriving at the gate without proper equipments, Zoolfikar Khan found the futility of making any attempts to bombard the place. He, however, satsfied himself by merely surrounding the place, hoping perhaps to starve the enemies out. The whole of 1690 was thus wasted. In September 1690 he sent for help from the English

1. Agents of the Vijeyanagar Empire.
2. South Arcot District Gazeteer, I, pp 347-48.

at Fort St. George ~~for~~ of 200 maunds of gunpwder and 500 soldiers and the English sent him gunpowder though not the soldiers.[1] The force of Zoolfikar Khan maintained their superiority throughout the year 1690, but the position was changed towards the middle of the year 1692. In a short time Zoolfikar Khan was so hemmed in that he was constrained to make representations for reinforcements.[2] Aurangzeb gave a willing year to his appeal and sent an Imperial mandate to Assad Khan who was at Kadapah to relieve his son Prince Khan Baksh, who was besieging the fortress of Wakim Kerah, the latter had also similar ~~was also~~ orders to march with all speed, join Assad Khan at Kadapa and to send from thence a relieving force of 5000 horse with treasures to assist the Nawab at Jinjee.[3]

Seeing his weakened position, Zoolfikar Khan thought it wise to suspend action at the fort which could not be captured. He undertook an expedition to the South against the kingdoms of Tritchinopoly and Tanjore, leaving the charge of the fort in the hands of the Chief of Conjeveram by name Alle Madan Khan. The campaign in the south was very successful. Towards the end of August 1691 he advanced to attack Tanjore, which action threw into consternation the places round about Fort St. David and Cuddalore,[4] and the English rushing perhaps to avert disaster spreading ~~on~~ in their own territories, sent assistance of "Coir Cordage" to the Nawab to help him "for drawing his field pieces and artillery"[5]

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1. Madras Diary September 1690 - Diary and Consultation Book, ~~of Fort St, George~~, 1690, p. 80.

2. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p. 285.

3. Ferishta (Scott), II, p. 83.

4. Madras Diary August 1691, Diary and Consultation Book, ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1691, p. 40.

5. Ibid., p. 41.

This was the first of the three expeditions to the South of the river Cavery referred to by Wilks.[1]

Before the prince Ram Baksh could joined Zoolfikar Khan on the 16th December 1691, the latter had already returned to Jinjee. On the arrival of the prince the Nawab went out in person to pay his respects and accompanied his highness to the spot fixed for his encampment.[2]

The Mogul force had now become awe-inspiring but the Mahrattas, nothing deterred, made sallies from time to time, and disturbed the besiegers by throwing rockets from the forts. One night 6,000 Mahrattas made a sudden sally from the gate facing the baggage camp, but were repulsed by the exertions of the Nawab and his officers, with great slaughter.[3] Rain setting in with extreme fury, a temporary cessation of hostilities followed, but the constant duties of the siege were "beyond measure fatiguing the troops."[4]

At the conclusion of the rains, the besieged army was considerably relieved by the arrival of Dhana Singh Jadav and Santaji Ghorpare, two experienced warriors and leaders in the Jinjee country, with the force of 15,000 horse.[5] The Nawab thought it advisable to recall the detached posts to the main body, but the onrush of the Mahrattas could not be pacified. Santa was most daring. Whereever he threatened an attack, there was no Imperial

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1. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 217.
2. Ferishta, (Scott), II, p. 86.
3. Ibid., p. 87.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid

Amir bold enough to resist him, and every loss he inflicted on their forces made the boldest of them quake.[1] Ali Mardan Khan, the foujdar of Conjeveram, was captured and set free only on payment of a very heavy ransom.[2] Ismail Khan Mukh was severely defeated and imprisoned, but was soon released.[3]

The Mogal Camp had since the arrival of the Prince become a hot-bed of disputes and dissensions. The Nawab was smarting under the wrong done him in allowing the prince to supersede him and even Assad Khan considered the supersession an act of injustice on the part of the emperor.[4] On the other hand although the prinee was the head at Jinjee, the Nawab was the real brain behind the whole attack. This perhaps offended the Prince and it was alleged that he wished the siege to be carried in his own name.[5] The Nawab was however not to be blamed for these dissensions. The Prince was at best a petulent and foolish young man always guided by "reckless and mad men" who were interested advisers. But Wilks charges both the Prince and the Nawab with designs to establish independent kingdoms in the Karnatic with the fortress of Jinjee as its nucleus.[6] Be it what it may, the records manifest

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1. Khafi Khan's Muntakhabu-L-Lubab; Elliot, History of India, VII, p. 347.

2 Madras Diary 23-11-1692: Diary and Consultation Book, of Fort St. George, 1693, p. 9.

3. Ferishta, (scott), II, p. 287.

4. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p. 287.

5. Khafi Khan's Muntakhabu-L-Lubab; Elliot, History of India, VII, p. 347. Grant Duff blames the Nawab for obstructing the prince's measures which he did by either "thwarting his plans" or "by preparing the besieged to counteract every intended operation". See Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p.288. But we have seen that the Nawab was the only designer and executor of the plans. The prince was a mere figure-head.

6. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 213.

that the prince was carrying on clandestine intercourse with Ram Raja, who was eager to ~~xim~~ seize any opportunity to fan the flame of discontent and induce the prince to go over to the Mahrattas.[1]

But the negotiations between the Prince and the Mahrattas was brought to light by the the spies of the Nawab before they could fructify. Matters came to a head and the Nawab, who was all the time at the trenches thought it prudent to abandon ~~x~~ them and moved towards the grand camp where the prince was encamped. However, the withdrawal was not effected without excessive danger which the Nawab's skill and valour alone could avert. The Mahrattas fell upon him from all sides but a careful handling of the situation and skilful manoeuvres enabled him to join the grand camp. The move cost him a great number of his soldiers and guns.[2]

The Prince's conduct required an immediate remedy, and the Nawab, ~~the prince's father~~ his father, and various officers deemed it advisable to incapaciate him from doing any further harm and thus save the army from disunion if not mutiny. The details of this event need not be here recorded as they have been very ably recorded by Prof. Sarkar. Suffice it to mention that the Prince was captured and imprisoned but all comfort was provided for his

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1. Manucci offers a very crude explanation and states that the correspondence of Kam Baksh with Ram Raja was a mere fetched-up story disseminated by the Nawab. See Manucci, ~~Storia do~~ Mogor, II, p. 316.
2. Mr Sarkar states that the guns were burst by firing excessive charges of powder. Perhaps they were burst on purpose, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemies.

accomodation.[1]

The situation remained stagnant. In spite of all the efforts of the Nawab, the Mahrattas did much as they pleased, and in fact were better off than the Mogals. The besiegers were now in turn besieged. While the garrison inside the fort increased their embarrassment , the Mahrattas outside took care to block all supplies. Grain being scarce and the fodder unobtainable, the Nawab was faced with the alternative of either bringing the provisions from a distance or letting the army perish of hunger and starvation. The former was risky but the better of the two, and the Nawab determined to move towards Wandiwash, 24 miles North-east of Jinjee, which place he reached during the night. In the morning the return march to Jinjee commenced. But the army was soon attacked on all sides by 20,000 Mahratta horse under Sambaji. , and the Nawab was forced into the Dessot fort, 10 miles southward. The bravery of Rao Dalpat, an officer in the Mogal army, was of immense service on the occasion, When the army continued their march in the morning and when at nightfall, two days later, the camp was reached, the Nawab "represented to Assad Khan the rao's behaviour , on which he confirmed many

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1. Wilk's version appears to be far from correct. He makes the Prince write a letter to Aurangzeb apprizing him (Aurangzeb) of the secret happenings at Jinjee and of the Nawab's plans. He further states that the Nawab got the information from his spies about this letter, Kam Baksh to Aurangzeb, siezed the prince and "sent him in silver fetters to his father", explaining his own conduct by "the base and undutiful design of the prince to throw off his allegiance and to subvert the emperor's authority." (Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, P. 215) The accounts of the Muhammadan historians are ofcourse more reliable.

praises."[1]

The supply brought by the Nawab at such great risk was scarcely sufficent. The state of the army went from bad to worse, when suddenly a temporary cessation of hostilities appears to have been made for a day or two. Rama Raja proposed a truce[2] "that the army should move to Bindwastnee when he would prepare a proper offering for his Majesty." Atleast this is what Ferishta states.[3] But it appears strange that Raja Ram would offer peace at the very hour when the enemy were so sorely pressed.. It is perhaps more probable that Assad Khan was the prime-mover for peace as he was the greater gainer thereby. The authority of Sarkar further lends support to our supposition as he states that Raja Ram was heavily bribed.[4] If he was the prime-mover for the truce it is very likely that he would not be offered bribes. The Nawab personally had no love for the truce which was to bring inevitable disgrace, but the attitude of the army and the lack of sufficient artillery forced him to be an unwilling partner.[5] Anyway the retreat was undertaken, the Nawab leaving much of his baggage behind for want of camels, which the Mahrattas plundered at leisure. Wandiwash was reached without much difficulty and the army rested there for the time.

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1. Madras Diary January 1693: Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 1693, pp 23-24. Also, Ferishta (Scott), II, p. 91.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, V, p. 90.
5. Ferishta, (Scott), II, p. 92

The stay at Wandiwash was prolonged till the Nawab thought it advisable to carry out a second depredatory tour to the south of the Cauvery, a long time having elapsed since the first in 1691.

The tour began with the storming of the fort of Permacoil, 18 miles north of Pondicherry, which was reduced and the garrison put to the sword.[1] Occupying many fortified temples on the way, he arrived near Tanjore. This was the place where he expected immense booty, in which he was not disappointed. The Zamindar of Tritchinopoly, who had certain disputes to settle with his neighbour, the Raja of Tanjore, requested the Nawab's assistance, which was readily complied with in return for "a considerable offering." Shahji II, the then ruler of Tanjore, was inclined to assist Raja Ram, but on the appearance of the Nawab's forces he implored for mercy and wrote down "assurances of humiliation, penitence and dejection and promised to give no assistance to Ramah (Rama Raja) and to pay a certain tribute stipulated in the Coulnama or grant of the Nabob,"[2] The undertaking was to pay rupees 30 lacs yearly and to remain under the Nawab's subjection.[3] Of the tribute 17 lacs were paid on the spot, 3 lacs to be paid when the Nawab crossed the Coleroon, and the remaining 10 lacs to be paid next year.

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1. Ferishta, (Scott), II, p. 93.
2. Suspension and Arrest of Lord Pygot, II, p. 73
3. Nawab Mohammad Ali Wallahjah's letter to the Court of Directors dated 12-2-1776 - The Restoration of the Rajas of Tanjore, I, p.62.

He also agreed to cede several forts including the fort of Palamcota, 15 miles S.W. of Chindambarum,[1] which was at that time morgaged to the Mahrattas. Naturally, therefore, it could not be ceded without a strugg le. The Mahratta garrison held out for about five days but atlast surrendered to the Nawab's right-hand man Rao Dulpet.[2] The Nawab was too wise to retain all the collections for his expenses, a part of which he sent to the Emperor and was rewarded by promotions and honours in return.[3]

The Nawab soon returned to Wandiwash and in September 1694 made a determined attack on Jinjee which attack was however not a success.[4] In November 1694 we hear him encamped to the North of Changamon fort, 42 miles west of Jinjee, the Mahrattas making incursions and plundering the Mogals of 5 or 6 horses.[5] The whole of this month the Nawab's movements were uncertain but he was very much harassed by the Mahrattas who plundered the country "carrying with them both people and goods," and poisoned the waters and mixed "milke hedges in som of the Tanks" which killed a great number of people.[6] Towards the end of the year, the Nawab received treasures from the Mogal for the payment of troops and two wives "who are ordered to Wandewas where he intends to return after taking two or three small

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1. Madras Diary June 1694 - Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~ 1694, p. 68.
2. An officer in the Nawab's army.
3. Ferishta, (Scott), II, p. 94.
4. Madras Diary of 18-9-1694.- Diary and Consultation Book, ~~of Fort St. George~~ 1694, p. 99,
5. Ibid, p. 127
6. Ibid, p. 127

Mahratta forces."[1] By the end of December he arrived at Suddam and the Madras Diary of January 1695 records him as recalling his treasure and wives from "Wandivash to Londavia."[2]

It might not be out of place here to record an event which throws considerable light on the character of the Nawab. Zoolfikar Khan had in his camp a representative of the old Vijeyanagar viceroys by name Bangaru Yachmanayaka.[3] He was a very powerful personality in the Karnatic, and the Nawab had been lucky enough to secure his friendship in the beginning of 1694. Entertaining suspicions about this man as having represented to Aurangzeb that the Nawab was actively helping Raja Ram, Zoolfikar Khan obtained permission of the Emperor on false representation and had ~~been~~ him suddenly seized and put to death.[4]

The year 1695 appears blank in records. The Nawab

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1. Madras Diary December 1694; Diary and Consultation Book, ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1694, p. 139.

2. Ibid., 1695, p.1.

3. He is the Achap-nai of Manucci and has been variously named in the Madras Diary. Mr. Sarkar calls him Yachapa Nayak. I am inclined to follow Pillai who calls him Bangaru Yachmanayaka. Pillai, "Account of Raja Desing of Ginjee" translated by Dr. Aiyangar, Journal of Indian of Indian History, IX, Part I, p. 10.

4. Pillai states (Ibid p. 10) that Yachamanayaka wrote to Aurangzeb representing that the Nawab was helping Raja Ram. The king showed this letter to Assad Khan who assured him (the king) that "never will disloyalty be shown by any of kin to me to the Padusha." The king next sent the letter to the Nawab and Assad Khan also wrote to his son who enraged "cut off the head Yachmanayaka. This shamefully horrible details of his death given by Manucci (Storia do Mogor, III, pp 271-72) can hardly be believed nor is there any reason for us to disbelieve the story that Yachmanayaka had written to the emperor about the Nawab. The Nawab's action might have been harsh but the act may be ascribed to the moment of passion.

was occupied at the siege of Vellor which was reduced to great straits but could not be captured. The year did not however end without further troubles. Dhana Singh Jadav and Santaji Ghorpare once more appeared on the scene and entered the Karnatic plains under fanfares of victory for the latter had just the completely annahilated the forces of Quasim Khan of Sera in Mysore.

Dhan Singh Jadav was the first to arrive and the Nawab hastily sending his women and baggage to Arcot, himself marched to oppose the enemy[1], whom he defeated at Teru-vadi, after which he returned to recommence the siege. Meanwhile Santaji defeated Quasim Khan and was moving towards Jinjee when the Nawab appearing from Arcot inflicted on him a signal defeat at Arnee.[2] This was in April 1696. During the rest of the year no important transactions took place. The Nawab, however, had felt the effect of depleted treasury and in the month of March he requested the English to provide him with 100,000 pagodas sending jewels as security.[3] The English refused but to secure his pleasure they sent him 250 pagodas. In October he made the demand for the second time threatening an attack on their city. But the English resolved not to pay or lend the Nawab any money determining to defend the place as well as they could if the threat was carried out.[4]

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1. Ferishta (Scott), II, p.108

2. Ibid., p. 95.

3 Madras Diary 3-3-1696; Diary and consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1696, p. 32.

4. Ibid., p. 131-32.

While this was the state of affairs, the money and reinforcements sent by the Emperor under Daud Khan, Mohammad Sayed Kevud, Venkatapati and others[1] had arrived at Kadapah.[2] Santaji, getting scent of the fact, resolved to intercept but hearing of the Nawab's approach, he ingeniously changed his plans and headed stright for Mysore. The Nawab returned to Arcot, but was forced once again to pursue Santaji in conjunction with Prince Kam Baksh under strict instructions from the Emperor. Santaji was pursued till Penu-konda[3] (75 miles north of Bangalore), but he was shrewd enough not to offer any battle. The result was that the Nawab had to return to Arcot early in 1697.

It was apparently time for yet another depradatory tour to the South of the Cauvery and in February 1697[4] the Nawab was reported on his way to Tanjore. Nothing much is known except that he exacted tributes from the Zamindars of Tanjore but the money was not enough even "to pay up the troops." About July he returned to Wandiwash[5], occupied old Jinjee, and encamped during the rainsmat the former place. At this time dissensions broke out in the Mahratta camp and the two generals Santaji Ghorpare and Dhana Singh Jadav quarreled and all semblance of Mahratta unity was lost. Raja Ram entreated

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1. Pillai's account of "Raja Desing of Ginjee" translated by Dr. Aiyangar - Journal of Indian History, IX, Part I, p. 10
2. Madras Diary November 1696 - Dairy and Consultation Book the Fort St. George, 1696 , p. 142
3. Ibid., p. 166
4. Madras Diary February 1697 - Dairy and Consultation Book of the Fort St. George 1697, p. 4 ; Ferishta, (Scott) II, p. 96,
5. Rev Fr. H. Heras identifies this place with Melacheri meaning " a settlement of the suburbs of the west"The village of Melacheri, in existence to-day, lies 3 miles N-W of the Jinjee fort proper. In those days old Jinjee formed a part of a large town near Jinjee Fort. See, Indian Antiquary, L IV, 1925, pp 41-42.

for peace on certain conditions and sent his son Kerum to the Imperial camp. The terms, however, were not acceptable to the Emperor, who issued peremptory orders to the Nawab to commence the siege. Kerum was hence sent back to his father with the Emperor's message about the middle of October 1697.[1]

The siege of Jinjee had continued for an indefinite period. This has naturally aroused the suspicions of historians and various charges have been levied against the Nawab who has been accused of procratinating the siege to secure some end in view. We may here discuss this point before closing the final episode of the siege. The Mahratta power was not so strong nor Jinjee impossible of acquisition with the force at the disposal of the Nawab. Apparently the delay was attributable to ~~any~~ some person in the Mogal Camp, but with what object in view is not quite certain. Wilks, however, states that the siege of the "eastern Troy" was prolonged for years "by the treachery, cabals and intrigues of the chiefs." Both the attack and the defence according to him were mere theatrical exhibitions in which each side played its part. The battles, sieges, and manoeuvres of the army were sham display to throw dust in the eyes of the old Emperor.[2] The Madras Diary is equally eloquent. It records that "Zulfikar Khan had been frequently ordered to take Jinjee, and it has

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1. Madras Diary 2 6-10-1697 - Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1697, p. 99. Also, Wheeler, Madras in Olden Times, I, 324 ;also, Ferishta, (Scott), II, pp 96-97.

2. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 213.

been in his power to do so and destroy all the Mahrattas in the country. But instead it appears plain that he hath joined council with them."[1] Ferishta too believes that "the total ruin of the Mahratta power might have been effected with ease many years before, but the Amras delayed on purpose and secretly assisted each other to draw out the war to a never ending and length for their own advantage."[2] One of the contemporary missioneries writing to another missionary refers to the siege as prolonged on purpose and states that "the aim of the general was to prolong the siege because he found his interest in its continuance."[3] The fact settled that the siege was prolonged on purpose, we might examine with what object this was done. The aim of the Nawab in protracting the capture of Jinjee was, says Wilks, "to keep the army together and profit by the events on the death of Aurangzeb,"[4] Grant Duff opines that the explanation is to be sought in the attempt "to reserve energy for the coming struggle of succession."[5] Manucci thinks that "if the wars were ended the soldiers would fall out of employ and their officers would be without income."[6] Ferishta too remarks that the Nawab "like many other generals

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1. Madras Diary dated 5-11-1696: Diary and Consultation Book, ~~of Fort St. George for the year~~ 1696.
2. Ferishta, (Scott), II, p. 97.
3. "Le dessein du general etoit de prolonger le siege, parcequ'il trouvoit son interest dans sa duree" - Letter du pere Bouchet, Missionaire de la Campagnie de Jesus, au pere de la meme Compagnie . - Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VII, p. 349.
4. Wilks , Historical Sketches of South India, I, p 213-14
5. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p. 302.
6. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 315.

wished to prolong the war." He adds that the Nawab dreaded that "when the Emperor should have finally reduced the Deccan, he would carry his arms to Candahar and Bulkh, which expeditions were disagreeable to the nobility, who did not wish to encounter the hardships of the North."[1] Pillai supports Ferishta and states that the Nawab pretended to be operating seriously " in the belief that, if the Padusha had no trouble in Hindustan, the Dakhan or the Karnatak, the sep oys would have no work."[2] Another view yet, is that the Nawab wanted to carve out an independent kingdom for himself in the Karnatic which view has been held by Wilks and Duff. However, it would be hardly correct to aim at any definitte conclusion in the face of such divergent views and we might like the missionary writing to another missionary plainly state that the Nawab protracted the siege " because he found his interest in its continuance."

To return to the siege. We left the Nawab encamped at Wandiwash during the rains. The rain having stopped, the siege was reniewed. It was the order of the Emperor to resume the siege with vigour till the garrison were brought to their sense. To all intents and purposes the preparations of the Nawab appeared genuine but they turned out later to be a sham exhibition of power. The Nawab took his post opposite the Northern Gate, posted Daud Khan Pandi before Chikali-doug, a mile south of Jinjee and Rama Singh Hara opposite Port du diable. The actors were no doubt given their respective places on the stage, but their instructions were

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1. Ferishta (Scott), II, p.97.

2. ~~Narain~~ Pillai, "Raja Desing if Gingee", translated by Dr. S. Aiya ngar. Journal of Indian History, IX, part I, p.10.

that they should not act. The stage effect would indeed have been very eloquent but for the fact that it was "occasionally marred by a ~~drunkard~~ drunken manager or an ill-instructed performer."[1] Daud Khan played the drunken manager to perfection and "when full of the Gods would perpetually volunteer the extirpation of the infidels."[2] The ~~imbecility~~ indiscretion of this general therefore marred the issue. Intoxicated, he always harried his men to storm the fort and kill the infidels.[3] It i s also alleged that he bore enmity to the Nawab and was waiting for an oppotunity to sieze him.[4] However, the opportunity never came.

The siege of Jinjee protracted too long which aroused the just wrath of the emperor. The Nawab got secret intimation from his friends that nothing save the immediate capture of Jinjee would save him from infamy and the anger of the ~~Padsha~~ Emperor. In the meanwhile Raja Rama escaped to Vellore

The escape of Raja Rama to Vellore has been againt a point of dispute among historians, as it has been alleged that the Nawab was mainly instrumental in effecting his flight. Ferishta states that "Rama being alrmed left his family and fled to Tanjore," and when the place actually fell, his family was taken in personal protection of the Nawab.[5] Wilks also asserts that "Rama apprized of the necessity (of the attack by the Mogals) , returned to Vellor,

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1. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 214
2. Ibid.
3. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p. 293
4. Madras Diary November 1694: Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 1694, pp. 127-28.
5. Ferishta (Scott) II, p. 97

which place was still in possession of the Mahrattas, and Zoolfikar Khan was adjusting with him a double negotiation for the capture of Jinjee, and the release of Rama's wives and family who had been surprised at the early period of the siege."[1] Grant Duff too maintains that when the Nawab was obliged to raise the siege, "he connived at a plan for the Raja's escape", and after the fall of the fort he had the wives and family of Raja Ram conveyed to Mahrashastra as prearranged.[2] Prof. Sakar accepts Ferishta's version and states that "Raja Ram received timely warning and escaped to Velore, with his chief officers but leaving his family behind."[3] If Raja Ram found the necessity to leave his family behind while he himself escaped, it appears that he had a very short notice from the Nawab. If we accept this theory the Nawab was guilty of collusiveness with the Mahrattas. However, Pillai's account appears more trustworthy. He states that "Raja Ram taking with him from among the Melacheri Killedhars, Kande Rao and others with all the things, and taking with him his wives and attendants,

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1. Ferishta, (Scott), II, p. 97

2. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 2 15

3. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p. 2 90

4. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, V, p. 107. The full version of the story according to him is : "The Maratha royal family begged for safety, which was promised to them, and palkis were sent for their conveyance. Four wives, three sons and two daughters of Rajaram now came out of the citadel and were kept in honourable captivity. Another wife of the Rajah avoided surrender; she flung herself down from the summits into the sheer depths below. Her head struck a projecting rock and she was killed instantly, but her mangled corpse was caught in the branches of a tree on the hillside at an inaccessible place and there it lay without funeral. Nearly 4000 men women and children were found in the fort, but very few combatants." Ibid., p. 108

he was getting ready to quit the fort. The nawab was not aware of this. He actually thought that as the siege had been going on for twelve years and as even the Padasha's resources were getting almost exhausted, the fortress was actually going to fall. he therefore ordered that the siege might be pressed and taken without delay..... In this stage of the siege, Raja Ram open the Tiruvaunamalai gate and, with all his impedimenta, got out of the fort and set forth marching westwards."[1] In view of Pillai's version the record of the English Company having received a letter dated 13-2-1695 from the Nawab asking him to prevent Raja Ram's running away by sea is strikingly significant.[2] No doubt the letter is dated 1695 and between 1695 and 1698 much water had flown under the bridge and the possibility remains that the Nawab's intention had altered. Mass of evidence leads to the conclusion that the Nawab acted in secret collusiveness with the Mahrattas through practically the major part of the siege, but the question whether the collusiveness extended to the help or encouragement to an enemy to escape, cannot be definitely settled. We may however conclude that the sole object of the Nawab was to procrastinate the siege, and if by the collusiveness with the Mahrattas he could spare his soldiers the rigours of war he would willingly do it. He was not willing that the bird should fly. He knew the Emperor's wrath too well to attempt such a thing.

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1. ~~Narain~~ Pillai's, ~~Account of~~ "Raja Desing of Jinjee". translated by Dr. S. Aiyangar, The Journal of Indian History, IX, Part I, pp. 10-11,

2. Madras Diary 13-2-1695; Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1695, p. 21

154

However, either led by his love for his soldiers or by his ambition to carve out an empire for himself, or a desire to keep ~~for~~ himself ready for the not too distant was of the succession, he was persuaded to prolong the siege. But the procrastination of the siege cannot be considered the circumstantial evidence to the fact of his being instrumental in effecting Raja Ram's escape. Perhaps the fear of his being sent to the distant expedition to the North West Frontier was the main reson why he kept himself engaged at Jinjee.

The Nawab's part in the actual occupation of Jinjee was insignificant. The fortress was carried by the insatiate desire of Daud Khan[1] and cool courage of Dulpet Rao. Daud Khan and his contigent attacked by a way through the woods which had been fortunately discovered, making his way to Krishna-giri, the garrison having no alternative but to surrender.[2] Raja Ram's family sought refuge in the fort of Rajgarh, the entrance to which was held by the Nawab in person, who, from the very commencement of the attack posted himself at the main entrance to the fort called the Northern Gate.[3] Raj garh, however, could not hold out for long against the Mogal attack. The women and children begged for safety and were conveyed away in palanquins under the Nawab's special protection.[4] The Nawab remained in the fort to safeguard

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1. "Mais Dourkan, un de ses officiers Subalternes pressa si vivement l'attaque de son cote, qu'il emporta la place et mit par cette conquête tout la royaume sous la puissance d'Aurangzeb" Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VII, p. 349.
2. Ferishta, (scott), II, 97-98.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 99.

the plunder which fell to the lot of the invaders. The plunder was not very ~~imposing~~ great. The prisoners numbered 4,000 of whom the majority was of females and children.[1] Of those ~~xxxxxxx~~ captured many were ~~xx~~ executed as insurgents.[2] Orders were then given to repair the defects in the fort and to investigate its secret paths.

It would not be out of place to make some observations regarding the date of the fall of Jinjee. Prof. Sarkar leaves the question unsettled. He quotes Massir I. Atanigiri, Madras Diary, Bhimsen and Chitnis, but he finds each of these authorities differing on the main point. According to Massir I. Atanigiri the fort had fallen on 7-2-1698[3] but the suggestion is made to read the month Rajab instead of Shaban as given in Massir I. Atanigiri. But the suggestion in itself is not so accurate or certain.[4] The Madras Diary records the date as 2-1-1698 when all the forts of Jinjee save one had fallen, which also at the time was offering to capitulate. On 2 8-12-1697 the Fort St. George reported the Nawab as planting his flag upon one of the hills and making a show as if he intended to take the place. Bhimsen dates the fall on 2nd or 31st January 1698. According to Pillai the fort fell in the year Fasli 1107, the year Iswara month Tai, day 2.[5] The 2nd of Tai is the day following the Sankarati for the Sankarati falls on the

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1. Ferishta, (Scott), II, p. 98

2. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, 293. This fact was, says he, a screen employed by the Nawab to hide his treachery from the emperor; but this should on the contrary help our theory that the Nawab was not responsible for the escape of Raja Ram from Jinjee.

3. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, V, p. 108

4. Ibid., p. 108, (note)

5. Narain Pillai's Account of "Raja Desing of Ginjee" translated by V. S. Aiyangar. The Jounal of Madras History, IX, Part I, p. p. 11.

1st of Tai being "an agricultural festival for all people"[1] So the interpretation to Sankarati can help us to arr ive at the correct date. Bhimsen's Sankarati "is not the monthly entry of the sun but the special Sankarati which usually comes about the middle of January. Now it happened to be the 30th of December for that year. On the 31st also the Pogul continues which is someimes spoken of loosely as Sankarati and Bhimsen might have so heard it."[2] On 5-1-1698[3] we read that the fort had certainly fallen and hence Jinjee might be taken us captured between 28-12-1697 and 5-1-1698; but this is as far as the English records are concerned, which should help to elucidate the actual dates given by Bhimsen and Pillai according to whom the fall is between the 30th and the 31st December 1697.[4]

The fall of Jinjee did in no ways end the travail of the Nawab. From Jinjee he proceeded to Wandiwash and thence set hot on the trail of the escaping Raja Ram who had sought shelter at Vellor. From Vellor Raja Ram had proceeded for Visalgarh accompanied by 4 or 5000 Mahrattas[5] and followed by the Nawab, the latter however returning to Wandiwash,[6] perhaps with the intention of capturing Vellor, but it appears that his attempts were not successful as

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1. Ibid., p. 4;
2. Ibid.
3. The Diary of Fort St. George is dated 11-1-1698 but the communication is of 5-1-1698.
4. Dr. Aiyangar has discussed this theme very ably.
5. Madras Diary of 4-3-1698. Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1698, p. 25,
6. Ibid, p. 32,

Vellor was finally captured by his successor Daud Khan in 1702. The Nawab reached Wandiwash about the 7th April 1698.[1] Here, he was rewarded with honours for the capture of Jinjee. He was promoted in rank by the addition of 1000 horses to his command and a tashereef of an elephant, a horse and a sword.[2]

Very few records of the year 1698 are extant so that unfortunately it is not easy to trace the career of the Nawab in the Karnatic for the year as well as the year following. In June 1698 we hear that the Nawab is making preparations to proceed to Mysore.[3] In the following month his design was to proceed against Tanjore[4], which perhaps was the fourth depradatory tour to collect the tributes from Tanjore, Tritchinopoly and the poligars beyond the Cauvery. The records of Fort St. George are blank on this point and they do not tell whether this expedition did really take place. The account of Pillai, however, leaves little doubt, according to whom the Nawab was very successful in the expedition. With a view to taking Tanjore ~~the Nawab~~ he encamped at Tiruvadi. Seeing that resistance would be of no avail, the Raja of Tanjore sent his vakils with Nazar and contributions for the expenses of the troops, ~~who~~ and later signed an agreement for the payment of tributes. Tha Rajas of Tritchinopoly,

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1. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, V, p. 109.
2. Madras Diary April 1698 - Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1698, p. 35.
3. Madras Diary 15-6-1698. Ibid., p. 68.
4. Madras Diary July 1698. Ibid., p. 77.

Ramnad and Shivganga were similarly forced to enter into similar undertakings.[1] Soon after the Nawab returned to Arcot,[2] where he received orders to proceed to the presence as the Emperor desired him to join Bedar Bakht to follow the Mahrattas in the field, while he personally conducted the reduction of the forts.[3]

The Nawab departed from the Karnatic towards the middle of the year 1699[4] after leaving the Nawabship in the hands of Daud Khan Panni who was presumably to act as his ~~assistant~~ deputy. Muhammad Sayed Khan was to be the Diwan of Daud Khan.

The history of the Nawab would not be complete without some reference being made to his transactions with the European nations established on the Coromandel coast. Of all the nations the English appear to have had the lion's share of the Nawab's attentions. They had been, as it has already been observed, established comfortably in the Karnatic, always bent upon making the best of the opportunities to extend their possessions and to increase their commerce. After the departure of Mir Jumla from the Karnatic and his subsequent death in 1663 the English power had developed to a respectable extent, so that between 1663 and the time of Zoolfikar Khan's appointment there had been a great development in

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1. Pillai, ~~Account of~~ "Raja Desing of Ginjee" translated by Dr. S. Aiyangar. Journal of Indian History, IX, part 1, p. 11.
2. Mr. Sarkar appears to have overlooked the fact or perhaps it did not fall within the range of his monumental work. Neither do other contemparary historains refer to this expedition of the Nawab. Wilks speaks of only three expeditions to the South of the Cauvery, but evidently Wilks is mistaken.
3. Ferishta, (Scott), II, p.99.
4. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p. 297.
5. 25th April 1699 according to "Akhbarat" - See Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, V, p. 109, note.

t heir possessions and commerce. This should make it essential that we study the growth of the Englis h Company from about 1670 onwards, so as to get a proper appreciation of the events for the period under review.

In 1671 William Laghorn, the governor of Madras, obtained from the Nawab Necknamkhan, the commander-in-chief, of the Golconda army in the Karnatic, a Cowl which required that the English should pay a ground rent of 1200 pagodas annually for the territories of Madras and towns depending thereon.[1] The succeeding five years did not bring the English any fresh grant of terr itories but the former privileges were confirmed, from year to year, and fresh concessions obtained specially in regard to the payment of custom charges and other dues.[2]

With the advent of the Mogals in the Karnatic a change for the better was perceptible and the English were fortunate in establishing fresh factories to the Southwards as Connimeer, Cuddalore and Poto Novo. The situation was on the whole very peaceful but no firmans were to be obtained from the Mogals till the year 1690[3] The Mogals in that year were rather badly off in their siege of Jinjee and were helped by the English with gunpowder and other warlike stores in return for which the Nawab granted them a firman dated 28-12-1690."that the rent of the fort and factory of Chinnapatam with accustomary privileges

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1. [redacted] Records: See Appendix p.2

2. Ibid. p.3.

3 Ibid. p.4

the English Factories of Metchelepatam, Maddapolam, Vizagapatam etc; within the territorie s of the Golconda country, also their settlements and factories of Tevapatnam, (Fort St. David) Cuddalore, Poto Novo, Trimlavassie etc within the territory of Ginjee, according to the former Custom and the usual practice of the English, let it remain undisturbed in Sallabad."[1]

The relations of the Nawab with the English were friendly and we hear of the English helping the Nawab from time to time with military stores and soldiers.[2] The relations appear to have been strained towards the month of August 1692, and it was feared that the Nawab would , on his return from Tanjore,[3] create trouble at Cuddalore, which fear made it imperative that the garrison at Fort St. David be strengthened by 20 soldiers and a sergeant.[4]

In Fe bruary 1692 the English sent two ambassadors by name Richard Frenchfield and John Pitt to the Nawab's camp at Jinjee where the latter had been joined by Assad Khan, the father of the Nawab and Prince Kam Baksh. The ambassadors had instructions to wait upon the Nawab and to petition that the English may obtain the king's firman, that the annual rent of 1200 Pagodas for Madras and Triplicane be taken off, that a grant of Tandore, Pershawarkum and Egmore be made to them rent free, that a permission be given to coin Rupees at Madras and lastly that they may be allowed to raise fortifications at Viziagapatan. 5

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1. Madras Diary and Consultation Book 1691,p.14 2. Ibid p. 17

3. Supra. 4. Madras Diary dated dated 25-8-1691 - Diary and Consultation Book 1691, p. 40. 5 Ibid February 1692, p. 5

Frenchfield and Pitt returned with a Nishan from the Prince and Partanas and Ductics from the Nawab . It was an occasion form rejoicing. Presents were exchanged, guns were fired and the Governor arrayed in a dress sent by the Mogul paraded the streets "the more to honour and please the prince and his people that accompanied the firmans and nishans who take particular notice and account of all such actions."[1] The Prince's nishan was received under a salute of 21 pieces of Ordinanne and three volleys of small shots and the Nawab's parwana under 13 guns.[2] The parwana granted the English the right to coin rupees at Madras with the Emperor's stamp and a firman was promised but the promise was not carried out.[3]

In August 1693, the Nawab's adopted son Muhammad Aniffe visited Madras. A garden was allotted for his reception and presents were made including among other things 2 looking-glasses, 1 pair of pistols, 1 piece of China, 1 wax image, 2 glass globes, 1 chest rose water, 2 swords and 2 pictures covered with glass.[4] In the same month a parwana was obtained for the countries of Trivalore and Triplicane.[5]

From 1692-1698 the governor of Madras was Higinson whose relations with the Nawab were also friendly. In June 1695 one Kitty Narain was sent to the Nawab with presents of one

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1. Madras Diary 19-4-1692 - Dairy and Consultation Book of ~~of Fort St. George,~~ 1692, p. 8.
2. Ibid.
3. [redacted] Appendix p.4-5.
4. Wheeler, Madras in Olden Times, I, p. 272.
5. Diary and Consultation Book of 1693, p. 116,

thousand pagodas in zarities , 1000 pagodas and 2000 rupees in cash with instructions to obtain the Nawab's parwanas according to Salaabad and also to get the grant of the town of Vepery lying to the west of the Black town.[1] The mission haowever failed in the attempt for the Nawab refused to grant Vepery to the English.[2]

In the year 1696 the Nawab's pecuniary resources were straitened to the utmost so that he was constrained to demand of the English a loan of 100,000 pagodas sending jewels as security. After serious deliberation the Madras Council refused to comply with the Nawab's request, as there appeared to be no security;for the jewels which were sent as "pawn" could not get them anything since they could not be sold in the open market. Moreover, there were grounds for suspicion that the Nawab's action was just a pretext to pick up a quarrel as it was alleged that the Nawab had the Emperor's orders to proceed against Madras.[3] The Loan was refused but the Nawab was presented with 220 pagodas.[4]

The refusal of the Loan foreshadowed trouble for the English. The Nawab's agents stopped and seized the goods of the English, exacted unusual customs, reduced their trade and destroyed their privileges.[5] In October 1696 he sent his demand for the second time threatening an attack on their city. But the English resolved not to lend any money determining to defend the

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1. Diary June 1695 - Diary and Consultation Book, ~~of Fort St George,~~ 1695, p. 75.
2. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, I, p. 581.
3. Diary March 1696 - Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St George,~~ 1696, p. 28.
4. Ibid., p. 32.
5. Ibid., September 1696, p. 109.

place as well as they could if the threat was carried out.[1] The threat was never carried out, but the English continued to be harassed though the latter tried to avoid hostilities by sending petty gifts from time to time.[2]

After the fall of Jinjee in January 1698, the Nawab, in spite of his having received presents on the occasion,[3] damanded the reduction of the Fort St. David and Cuddalore.[4] As this demand was being executed, a strange coincidence occured which led to the belief that the Nawab was too serious about this demands and that he would not scruple to use force if by that means he could secure the end in view. Suleiman Khan, a general in the Nawab's army and the brother of Daud Khan Panni, had arrived at Cuddalore about the 17th of February 1698, obviously with a view to pass a night there on his way to Jinjee with "nine ox-load of the king's treasure." But early, the next morning, his men seized Porto Novo and Chelumbrum, but were repulsed and driven out of the Company's bounds with a loss of eight men.[5] On the 22nd Sulyeman Khan made another attack on Cuddalore, but this attack was also repelled, although not till the moors had burnt several towns and looted several bazaars. The second attempt of Suleiman Khan gave grounds to suspect that the Nawab's orders determined Suleiman's actions, although another probability was that he was

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1. Madras Diary Oct. 1696 - Diary and Consultation Book, ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1696, p. 132.
2. On 17-10-1696 a present of 300 pagodas was sent and again on 2-9-1697 a further gift of 1,000 pagodas was made. Ibid., p. 123; also Diary of 1697, p. 99.
3. Ibid, Diary and Consultation Book of Jan 1698, p.4.
4. Ibid. Diary and Consultation Book of Feb 1698. p. 17.
5. Wheeler, Madras in Olden Times, I, p. 326.

merely carrying out the instructions of his brother Daud Khan who was then supposed to be on terms of enmity with the Nawab.[1] Representations were made to the Nawab desiring that a stop be ~~put~~ put to such unwanton attacks on their possessions, threatening at the same time that "if the king would not have the Company trade in his dominions they may be asked to withdraw."[2] As the result the harassment of the English seized for a time.

Fort St. David remained the bone of contention till nearly the end of the year. If the English wanted to retain the place ~~place~~ they had to hold a firman from the Nawab and no firman could be secured without spending a large sum of money. The Nawab understood the situation better than the English themselves and he was determined to obtain as much money as possible under the circumstances. To start with he damanded no less than 40,000 Pagodas,[3] but soon climbed down to 10,000. While the Nawab was thus engaged in auctioning Fort St, David, his assistant Suleiman Khan was making military demonstration at the place.[4] After much bargaining the English obtained the firman in July 1698.[5], which cost them ~~English~~ altogether 13043 pagodas.[6] Henceforth the relations between the Nawab and the English continued to be peaceful till the former's departure ~~for~~ from the Karnatic.

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1. Madras Diary 24-2-1698: Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1698, p.22.
2. Ibid., Diary of Feb 1698, p. 21.
3. Ibid., Diary of April 1698, p. 46.
4. Ibid., Diary of May 1698, p. 60.
5. Ibid., Diary of July 1698, p. 77 ; Also, see Appendix ~~p~~ p. 5
6. Ibid., Diary of December 1699, p. 91.

The other European Nations were of so little account that much need not be said about them above a few observations. The Portugese were content to remain in the background but we hear of one Dominigo de Coasta sent by the Portugese government to visit the Nawab to get the king's firman for St. Thome confirmed and to solicit grant of fresh villages round about the place. The Nawab confirmed the first but refused to grant any fresh villages.[1] The Dutch though sharing the Eastern trade with the English were mostly engaged in the commerce with the Indian Archipelago and Spice Island keeping very quiet in their Indian factories. At the same time when Dominigo de Coasta was treating with the Nawab on behalf of the Portugese, a Frenchman accompanied by two Hindu attendants was pleading for fortifications at St. Thome, as well as intriguing with the Nawab against the English.[2] This is all that we glean from the records and nothing further is known.

Before we finally drop the curtain on the exploits of the Nawab Zoolfikar Khan in the Karnatic, it would be in the fitness of things to study the character of the man. Any attempt, however, to form an estimate of his character from the facts before us would be too nigh a presumption and would scarcely do justice to the man who developed his political character in the later part of his life, when he was practically ruling the politics at Delhi. Unfortunately, even while in the Karnatic, the Nawab was too much engrossed in battles and sieges, so that one side of his character, ~~only~~ as a soldier and commander, is only known. The

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1. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, I, p. 576. Also, Madras Diary of September 1696. Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1696, p. 109.

2. Ibid., p. 109.

very fact that his name inspired awe in the ranks of the Mahrattas as soon as he appeared in the plains of the Carnatic is a mute recommendation of the Nawab's military genius. It was unfortunate for him that he did not participate in the siege of Jinjee with a full heart or an eager mind, and it was still more unfortunate that he made himself guilty of collusiveness with the Mahrattas. The first lowered the opinion of men about his military sagacity, the second pointed him out as a corrupt general who would stop at nothing to secure his object. However much we may try to defend the Nawab, testimony of facts must ultimately point him out as a corrupt and ambitious man. One fact alone can perhaps save him from obloquay and that is that the Emperor's was approaching his end and every preparation was on foot for the approaching wars of succession, and if the Nawab like the other nobles at the court, sought his own safety, he did not stand for too much blame.

Whatever we might point out against the Nawab , he merited recognition for his talents and exertions. As soon as he retired from the Carnatic, he was engaged in a course of incessant and destructive warfare and is stated to have fought 19 actions and marched 3000 coss in less than six months.[1] This should give an idea of the energy and the ability of the man although these qualities were not displayed during his Nawabship.

His relations with the European nations show him to be narrow-minded, capable of dissimulation and even cupidity. He knew fully well the position of the English and instead of acting as a noble-mided grandee of an empire or a liberal ruler, he condescended to enter into petty bargainings for the

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1. Wilks, Historical Sketches of India, I, p. 217.

the grant of a firman, confirming petty rights for the retention of petty possessions.

But for all his faults he was an able successor of Mir Jumla. ~~xxfxmixxJumlx~~ It has been suggested that he had the designs to establish an independent kingdom of his own in the Karnatic, but if this was so, it was rather unfortunate that he did not carry out his plans for it was one of his followers who achieved independence and established a line which ruled ~~in~~ the Karnatic fron father to son. Perhaps ~~the~~ Nawab Zoolfikar Khan's ambition soared higher, but that was a greater fault than the idea of independence; for although it raised him up to the pinnacle of glory, it also brought him down to end his life in spoliation and murder.

C H A P T E R III.

DAUD KHAN PANNI

The Panni tribe of Afghans migrated to India some centuries ago, their chief settlements being in the northern part of the country. Khizr Khan Panni, the father of Daud Khan Panni, belonged to this tribe and began life as a trader. The avocation of a trader not being suitable to a man of his temparament, he joined the services of the Sultan of Bijapur. He soon transferred his services to the Mogals and became famous for his attachment to Dara Shikoh and his staunch loyalty to that Prince. Daud Khan Panni was born in the Deccan[1] about 1671[2] three years before his father's murder in 1674. Nothing is known about his childhood and how he was brought up but he appears to have joined the Mogal service while still a youth. During the latter part of the siege of Jinjee he was deputed to help Zoolfikar Khan where he was instrumental to the taking of that place as has already been related. When Zoolfikar Khan was summoned by the Emperor to Aurangabad, it was intended that Daud Khan should be appointed in his place as the Nawab of the Karnatic.

The first point that lends itself to investigation is the date of the appointment of Daud Khan. From various references it would appear that Daud Khan accompanied Zoolfikar Khan to the Emperor's camp at Aurangabad and it was from there that he was

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(1. Ferishta (Scott), II, p.57.- " When Shah Alam (later Mogal Emperor) decided to quit Deccan he left as deputy governor of Deccan Daud Khan, a native of the country and a nobleman of great military fame."

2. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, IV, p.264.

detached to act as the Nawab of the Karnatic. Our main source for this contention is Ferishta who states that " while Aurangzeb was engaged in the siege of Sittara (January to April 1700) he had sent Zoolfikar Khan in pursuit of the Mahrattas, who were committing depradations between Burhanpore and the Royal camp. Daud Khan Panni was datached from him to the faujdari of the Karnatic Hyderabad."[1] and the Madras Diary dated 17-1-1701[2] according to which "Dawood Khan being ordered by the king (Aurungzebe) Nabob of the Carnatic and Ginjee countries, who has been several months on his march from the king's Camp." If, therefore, Daud Khan was appointed by the Emperor while engaged in the siege of Sattara, we might state that he became the Nawab of the Karnatic early in 1700[3], which fact is corroborated in the Madras Diary which states him "to be several months on his march from the king's camp."

Strange enough, while the preceding two Nawabs were occupied in a political strife with their own countrymen and in a series of warfare, most of the events of the Nawabship of Daud Khaa are concerned with the Europen Nations on the Coromandel coast specially the English. These events form a very important and an informative chapter in the Anglo-Indian relations in the beginning of the 18th century and as such will engage a greater part of our attention

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1. Ferishta (Scott), II, p. 102.
2. Diary and Consultation Book, ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1703, p. 3.
3. According to Pillai Zoolfikar Khan left Daud Khan as foujdar in the Karnatic and himself proceeded to Aurangabad which he reached in the year 1700 - Pillai, "Raja Desing of Ginjee," translated by Dr. Aiyangar, Journal of Indian History, IX, Part I, April 1930, p. 13.

Daud Khan arrived in the Carnatic[6] in January[1] 1701 and encamped on the South bank of the Pallar[2], where he remained for a long time. The intelligence of his arrival reached the English on 17th January 1701 and they determined to send him presents on this auspicious occasion as their interests were at this particular juncture seriously embroiled both at Fort St. David and at Surat.[3] To the English Daud Khan was not an unknown personage. He had already visited Madras on 28-4-1699 when he stayed at Triplicane in Mr.Styleman's[4] house and spent a week at St. Thomé[5]. On this occasion the ambassadors selected were Senor Nicholas Manucci and the Company's chief Dubash Ramapah.[6] The ambassadors had instructions to proceed to the Nawab's camp carrying presents worth 1090 pagodas and 130 fanams to the Nawab, 186 pagodas and 13 fanams to the Diwan Muhammad Sayed and 831 pagodas and 16 fanams to be distributed among the other officers.[7] Among the things carried were two brass guns, several lengths of broad cloth in scarlet, pieces of gold cloth of Europe and China, rare mirrors of all sizes, crystal vases, 37½ gallons of cordials, 50 bottles of French brandy, weapons such as pistols, sword blades and fowling pieces and finally a sum

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p.384.
2. Pillai, Raja Desing of Gingee, Journal of Indian History, IX, part I, p. 13. - This place has since become the town of Arcot, 66 miles west of Madras. The capital of the Nawabs was shifted to this place from Jinjee, evidently because the latter place was unhealthy. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, P
3. Madras Diary 17-1-1701. Diary and Consul.Book 1701, p.4.3
4. A member of the Madras Council.
5. D.Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, p.13
6. Madras Diary 17-1-1701, Diary and Consul.Book 1701, p.4.
7. Ibid.

of ℞ 3,000/ to be delivered privately to the Nawab.[1] The object of the embassy was to secure the confirmation of the privileges both at Madras and at Fort St. David, so that the business may go on according to Salabad without any hitch or hindrance from the Nawab's creatures.[2] The embassy was not sent with any political motive as can be gleaned from the instructions issued to the members. The aim was merely to secure the Nawab's favours regarding rights and privileges effecting trade and commerce.

The ambassadors started from Madras on the 18th January[3] and it is probable that they arrived at the camp at Arcot on the 22nd that place being about "four days' march" from the Fort St. George#. The Nawab on hearing of the English envoys sent a captain with 30 horsemen and 50 musketeers[4] to receive them. But the reception accorded to them later was far from cordial. He regarded the presents brought by them as inadequate, inveigled them in scurrilous language, roaped up the business of Fort St. David and finally threatened direct action against the English. Two days after, however, he seemed pacified "by the sweetest and the most flattering language" of Manucci. The reasons for his wrath against the English were as he himself states

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1. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, p. 13. Also see Manucci, Storia do Mogor, II, p. 385.

2. Madras Diary dated 17-1-1701. Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, , 1701, pp. 4-5.

3. Ibid p. 3

\# Ibid.

4. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, II, p. 385. See also Madras Diary dated 3-2-1701, Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 1701, p. 14. The number stated therein is 10 horse, 50 foot and no captain.

that "they had always been left undisturbed, and yet, without regard to the post, they now treated him in the most cavalier spirit and gave him next to nothing", that "they had rendered no account of their administration good or bad, commencing with 1686", that "they were mistaken if they thought by two thousand four hundred potakas (₹ 4,800) to discharge the whole of their debt, and enjoy freely the revenues appertaining to the Crown of his Prince" and that he would himself go "to take what he anticipated would suit him better."[1] Orders were issued to Mir Muin, a commander in the Nawab's army, to march against Madras with 200 horse and 2000 infantry. But towards night when full of the gods, he listened to the palliatives offered by Manucci on behalf of the Company, so much so, that the orders were withdrawn and the gifts were accepted.[2]

On the 2nd February the envoys returned without effecting their object. The proceedings at the Court had been most ludicrous and the damands of the Nawab most phlegmatic. The English therefore resolved that no further gifts should be made to the Nawab and that the garrison be put and kept in the best posture of defence both at Madras and Fort St. David.[3] Complaints were made to Zoolfikar Khan and Assad Khan representing the ill-treatment afforded to their agents sent to Daud Khan & "his unreasonable demands upon this place"[4]

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 388

2. Ibid., p. 390

3. Madras Diary dated 3-2-1701 : Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 1701, p. 14. Manucci however states that the Governor of Madras (Pitt) was fully satisfied with the transactions. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 393.

4. Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 1701, p. 76.

At the same time that the English embassy reached the Nawab's camp at Arcot there arrived an envoy from Pondicherry on behalf of the Governour Martin as well as an embassy from the Dutch. Strangely enough, while the Nawab treated the English with disfavour, the envoys of the other European nations were successful in their objects. The French had come "to negotiate about some business which concerned the Royal Company" and they were able "to settle their business to their satisfaction and at a moderate cost."[1] The gifts of the Dutch were very valuable. They asked as favour the grant of Conimeer 11 miles N.N.E. of Pondicherry which favour was granted.[2]

Soon after, the Nawab started from Arcot towards the south of the river Cauvery, with the manifest object of collecting the Nazars and Peishkushes from the killedars, jagirdars, mansabdars and poligars of the place and of conducting the work of the Nawab-ship on the lines laid down by his predecessors. He went as far as Tanjore, collected the tribute and obtained presents. On his way back he was to pass through Cuddalore which movement the English at Fort St. David apprehended as full of some designs against them. It was resolved that the Governour of Fort St. George ~~by name~~ Mr. Pitt with two members of the council should go to the Fort St. David with 30 men of the garrison and with the essential gifts in anticipation of the Nawab's arrival.[3] It seems however doubtful whether

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 394
2. Ibid., IV, p.260
3. Madras Diary 27-5-1701, Diary and Consul.Book,1701,p.41.

Governour Pitt actually went over to Fort St. David, for when the Nawab reached Cuddalore, it was the Governour of Fort St. David Mr. Fraser who sent out men to salute him. Presents of elephants, some pieces of scarlet cloth and of cloth from Europe and China, together with a sum of money and European wines were made to the Nawab.[1] The latter, starting from Cuddalore, moved to Pondicherry where he received a small present, and then to Sadraspatam,[2] where the Dutch accorded similar reception. From Sadraspatam with a force of 1000 troops, horse and foot,[3] he made for St. Thomé which was reached on wednesday the 2nd july 1701.[4]

The Nawab's approach to St. Thomé was necessarily an evil omen for the English. Pitt therefore resolved to stave off the evil day as far as practicable by presents, civilities and entertainments. But the garrison had at any rate to be kept in good order in case the Nawab's hostilities could not be pacified. Rajputs were employed in place of companies peons because they were better soldiers[5] and they could offer greater resistance. Directions were als o issued to the soldiers to be very vigilant in their duty and gunners had orders to point their guns upon the works towards St. Thomé.[6]

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p.394

2. 40 miles south of Madras.

3. Madras diary puts the figure at 3000 horse and 7000 foot see Madras diary d/7-7-1701, Diary and Consultation book, 1701 p.62

5. D. love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, P.14.- The Madras Diary puts the figure at 3,000 horse and 7,000 foot.-See Madras Diary dated 7-7-1701, Diary and Consul.Book,1701,p.62.

4. Madras Diary 2-7-1701, Ibid.,p.60.

5. Madras Diary 20-3-1701, Ibid.,p.26.

6. Madras Diary 2-7-1701, Ibid., p.60.

Preliminary inquiries being made as to the Nawab's pleasure to receive the embassy, the morning of January 3rd was fixed as an auspicious time for the occasion. The Embassy consisted of three persons by name Messrs Ellis, Davenport and Captain Lambert, the last named attending only out of curiosity to see the Nawab.[1] The ambassadors were accompanied by Narain and Mofah to serve as linguists with a retenue of a sergeant and three files of grenadiers. The reception accorded to the embassy was far from encouraging, the Nawab declining to receive the "ordinary presents"[2] brought by the envoys, and expressing his surprise at the temerity of the English Government to make such unimportant gifts to him who was "the first man in the province and the lieutenanat-general of the great mogul."[3] They therefore returned carrying with them some presents from the Nawab[4] together with the presents that they had themselves brought but after which the Nawab declined to accept anything except two parrots.[5] The dismissal of the envoys was the signal for the approaching storm. On the next day the Nawab's men fell in upon one of the villages near St. Thomé[7] and carried off a great quantity of straw and firewood.[8] Yet another village was plundered the next day and every sign tended to a

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1. Madras Diary dated 2-7-1701. Dairy and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 1701, p. 60

2. Ibid., p. 61. The presents were + Broad cloth red and yellow, rose water, china silk - gold and plain, china sweetmeats, two parrots, 50 bottles of spirits, 4 small looking glasses, and a Persian mare. The total value of the presents was Rs 3,500/-

3. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 395

4. The presents were probably to show his own munificence.

5. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 396 (6) ~~Madras~~ Diary & Consul Book, 1701, p. 60. (7) may be Egnore or Triplicane or Tinsewantum (8) Madras ~~Diary, D/4.7.1701, p. 61~~ Diary of 4.7.1701, Diary & Consul Book, 1701, p. 61.

definite rupture. The governor of Fort St. George remonstrated against such illegal proceedings and represented the matter to the Nawab, at the same time giving instructions to the garrison to make strenuous efforts for every kind of resistance. The ships "Bedford", the "Duchess" and the "Phoenix" were ordered to land 110 men to make "a good marine Company". Trained bands were summoned under Captain Heron[1] and lieutenant Berlu[2] and a Company of 120 Portugese inhabitants was raised under Captain Emmanuel de Silva with a hundred peons posted as "Scouts for intelligence"[3]. However, before finally taking up arms against the Nawab, Pitt wrote another letter of remonstrance advising him of their resolution to provide for their own security as "wee are neither to share in yo :Exe(ell r ys) favour nor justice which is our great misfortune."[4]

The storm that was brewing fortunately did not burst. Suddenly the Nawab altered his attitude and intimated that he would receive the presents. This sudden change is attributed in certain quarters to the determined attitude of the Governor. It is however hardly conceivable how a man of Daud Khan's courage and resources would be so easily frightened out of his wits by the demonstrations of a small English garrison. The possibility remains that the intercession of the Chief Minister and others was instrumental in adjusting the quarrel or[5]

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1. A master mariner and a pilot in the Company's service. He died in Madras in 1727 at the age of 81.
2. He was a land Customer at Fort St. David in 1697.
3. Madras Diary d/17-1-1701. Diary and Consultation Book ~~of~~ ~~Fort St. George~~, 1701, p. 62.
4. Madras Diary d/5-7-1701. Ibid p. 63.
5. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 396.

perhaps the Nawab was playing a greater game of taking the English by surprise.[1]

Be it what it may Narain and Moolah were sent again to the Nawab's camp with the original presents to which were added a looking-glass, a Chinese lantern, two China chests and a pair of dogs. The presents were received very kindly and the massengers returned to their master with a horse and a tashereiff as a gift from the Nawab.[2]

On the next day, the 11th of July, the Nawab expressed a desire to dine at Fort St. George. The English would fain have evaded this call upon their hospitality but the honour was too great and any refusal was hardly to be thought of. While, therefore, the Nawab was making preparations at St. Thomé for a visit to the English Fort, every preparation was rife at the Fort St. George to give him a pompous reception, without keeping anything undone to impress him.[3] The task of escorting the Nawab to the English Fort fell to the lot of Manucci. It was agreed that the Nawab should restrict his retinue to one hundred horse, but the Nawab started from St. Thomé with half the number. Arrived at the Company's limits they were met by Messrs Marshall and Meverell, members of the Council, with ten files of grenadiers posted there to conduct him into the town. The entrance

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1. "This sudden altercation happening makes us fear a snake in the grass, and resolve that we will not disband any of our forces till our army marches" - Madras Diary d/10-7-1701. Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 1701, p. 65.

2. Ibid.

3. Madras Diary d/12-7-1701, p. 67-68 ;D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras , II, p. 15 ;Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 397-99.

to the town was effected on Saturday the 12th at 12 noon . The streets were lined with soldiers , Europeans and Indians, from St. Thome gate upto the Fort drwwn up in single rank on both the sides. The works were manned with the Marine Company handsomely dressed in red coats and caps, and on both the town and the Fort walls the soldiers presented arms. The train bands were on the inner fort so that the whole presented a very striking appearance. The Nawab was astonished at this martial display and could hardly repress signs of admiration. Still greater was his astonishment when as they drew near the Fort Gate way, the soldiers and the officers "went through divers movements which were quite unknown to him." But the Na wab apprehended danger and thought himself a prisoner. He was however soon assured when the soldiers retired. The Governor arrived attended by the Council, the mayor, the Commanders of the Europe ships and some of the principal citizens to meet the Nawab a little way out of the gate of the Fort. Then followed the embracing ceremony which took up a great deal of time. The party finally entered the Fort and the Nawab was conducted to the apartments specially prepared for him. The bed was covered with quilts of embroidered China cloth. The Nawab went into ecstagies over the quilts which he asked as gifts, whereupon he was offered the whole bed which he gently refused.

Preliminary to the dinner, wine was taken in honour of persons, directly, indirectly, or not in the least concerned with the ceremony. Aurangzeb's health was drunk under the salute of 31 guns and the king of England was given a similar honour. Assad Khan, the vazir, came in next and he was honoured with a salute of 21 guns and a toast. Then followed a toast to Zoolfikar Khan and one to Daud Khan himself each with the same number of guns. The drinking ended with further toasts in honour of the "Divan, the

Chief minister of this general, and to his bakhshi, each time to the sound of 15 guns." Soon after, a magnificent dinner was served in the Consultation room which was handsomely set out in all respects, the dinner consisting of about sixhundred dishes, small and great, specially managed ~~by~~and dressed by a Persian. After the dinner some diversion was provided by dancing wenches. But evidently the ceremonies were too much for the Nawab. He sought repose for an hour and then took his leave. About sixO'Clock in the evening he prepared for his departure. He was accompanied as far as the Fort Gateway. Compliments were once more exchanged. The Governor wished the Nawab a pleasant journey and the Nawab wished the Governor every success in his enterprise and trading, at the same time promising friendship and protection. Daud Khan then mounted his horse pretty steadily, the Governor offering to hold his stirrup, which the Nawab would by no means allow. The sound of the cannon once more peeled forth and the Nawab atlast departed attended by Messrs Marshall and ~~Merwell~~ Meverell under a salute of 31 pieces of ordnance.

Reaching home, the Nawab expressed a desire to inspect a ship in the roads and every preparation was made to embark him from Triplicane. Messrs Marshall, Meverell and other commanders waited for him from early 7 A.M. of the 13th July, but he, having been very drunk overnight was not in a position to go and deferred the inspection till the next morning.[1] The ~~main~~ marine expedition which had been postponed for the 14th was however given up

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1. Madras Diary d/13-7-1701 - Diary and Consultation Book ~~of~~ Fort St. George, 1701, p. 68.

the Nawab wished to see the Company's garden on the Western Front. Every effort was made to induce him to give up the idea but to no avail. Finding him obdurate, best possible preparations were made both for his reception as well as to guard against treachery. Orders were issued to make up the train bands and the Marine Company and a detachment of 100 men under Captain Seaton were asked to attend the Governor and Council when they went to the Gardens to receive the Na wab. The latter was approaching with a great detachment of horse and foot including all the elephants. Seeing his great force he was made to halt on the way under the pretext "that it (the force) would create a jealousy in the governor" so that it would be better to send the governor a word and get his answer. The halt unfortunately proved too much for the sobriety of the Mussalman Lord and he staggered dead-drunk into a Portugese chapel, where he evidently fell fast asleep. While the Nawab slept, his army remained on the spot and the Governor and Council waited his pleasure at the Gardens till 4 O'Clock in the evening when word was brought that the Nawab was marching in the westerly direction towards the Little Mount and that he would not be able to come, for which however, he hoped the Governor would excuse him.[1] The Nawab continued to encamp at the Little Mount till the 17th when he marched off with his army to Poonamallee.[2] On the 24th the English received Parvanas for "their affairs to go on according to the Sallabad."[3]

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1. Madras Diary d/15-7-1701. Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 1701, p. 68. Wilks states that he went away without "apology or explanation" See Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 225, note.

2. Madras Diary d/17-7-1701. Ibid., p. 69.

3 Madras Diary d/24-7-1701. Ibid., p. 73.

From Poonamallee the Nawab returned to his capital at Arcot[1] where he remained ostensibly till about the middle of january 1702. It was here that in the beginning of december 1701 he was visited by Rev. Fr. Martin, a Jesuit missionery to plead on behalf of the christians at Tanjore. He approached "with a large present made up of Europeon curiosities, a mirror of crystals and a poignard mounted with jewels in the style of the country."[2] Daud Khan, it is stated, had the envoy of Tanjore brought before him whom he ordered "to put such preasure on his master that the captives fathers, the Roman- Brahmans, should be set at liberty and the Christians allowed to live according to their religion", with the threat that if the king of Tanjore did not comply with his orders he would have him, the envoy put to death. The preasure brought upon the king of Tanjore was presumably too great, so that the Jesuits once more regained their position at that place.[3]

About the beginning of 1702 the Nawab received peremptory orders to deal with the English at Madras as rigourly as possible. This order was occasioned by the piracies that were being committed on the high seas at this period, and for which the English company won the displeasure of the Emperor, as did all the Europeon nations trading in the East Indies. Starting from Arcot the Nawab arrived at St. Thome "with a considerable force of horse and foot" on the night of 29th

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1. "At the end of january (1702) I had trustworthy information that Daud Khan and the Divan, with their whole army, were about to leave Arkat again for Madras." - Ibid P.399. Onthe 29th Nov. 1701 we find the English sending the Nawab liquor at Arcot. See Madras Diary d/29-11-1701. Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1701, P.105.

2. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, P. 358.

3. Ibid., p.359 -360.

January 1702.[1] On his arrival the Company's Brahmin and Moolah were sent with presents of rosewater, oranges, and sweetmeats to his Court who were however soon dismissed with the orders that the Governor should come to St. Thome in person or send some members of his Council to wait upon him with presents.[2] The English Governor was by no means eager to satisfy every such whim of the Nawab. Neither would he himself go nor allow any of the Council to attend him. The reason that ostensibly dictated this attitude was perhaps that it "would be of ill consequence to the Company&s affairs for the future" to give presents now and again, as such a precedent would "not only be pleaded hereafter as customary by himself, but by all succeeding Nawabob"[3] or perhaps "the real reason why the Governor declined to send anyone is that he feared the Mahomedans might oblige them by force to execute some writing, by which they undertook to be responsible for all piracies through out the seas and all the Coasts of India" or that "he feared that they might be sized and constrained to pay considerable sums to secure their liberty."[4]

This attitude of the Governor was conveyed to the Nawab, who now determined upon blockading both the City of Madras and Fort St. George. Little time was to be lost. The English Governor with dauntless courage went in person to inspect the fortifications of the town, caused the gates to be strengthened, doubled the sentries, posted the Portuguese Militia and the Trained Bands and raised a body of 200 Rajputs and from 60 to 70 Lascars.[5] The siege commenced

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1. Madras Diary 29-1-1702, Diary and Consultation Book 1702, p.8.

2. Madras Diary 4-2-1702. Ibid., p.9. (3) Ibid.

4. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p.401.

5. Ibid., p.402; also, Madras Diary 29-1-1702, Diary and Consul. Book, 1702, p.8.

on Friday the 6th Fabruary 1702, when all provisions going in and out of the town ~~was~~ were stopped.[1] The Company's towns were plundered and the inhabitants at the Black town ~~are~~ were forced to desert in thousands[2] so that there was general confusion and great hardship.[3] At the same time that the blockade continued, negotiations were daily taking place for an amicable settlement which would be beneficial to both the parties. On the 7th the Nawab affirmed his position that he was acting under instructions from the Emperor and that he knew how to deal with the English, in case they proved refractory. The English stated on the same date that they were not afraid, as they had sufficient provisions for their people for two years, besides the open sea.[4] On Thursday the 12th the Nawab demanded the possession of the Black town as well as some other fortifications ~~that~~ and but the English regarded this as a mere "rhodomantade" stuff" which did not deserve or merit any attention , much less an answer.[5]

It was at this period of the siege that the Nawab desired the presence of Manucci as an envoy from the English, whose presence at the Nawab's Court however failed to reconcile the parties at variance On the contrary his presence contributed to further the Nawab's anger.[6] Both sides were now exhausted but both were resolute.

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1. Madras Diary d/ 6-2-1702. Ibid p. 10.
2. The towns were Egmore (two miles west of the Fort), Pursewankum, and Triplicane (1 1/4 miles SWS of the Fort.)
3. Madras Diary d/7-2-1702. Diary and Consul. Book ~~of Fort St. George~~ p. 12-13; Manicci, Storia do Mogor, III, p.403.
3. Diary and Consul. Book of Fort St. George d/7-2-1702.p.12.
5. Ibid d/12-2-1702, p. 15.
6. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 15.

Both the powers therefore applied for help to the French at Pondicherry the Dutch at Negapatam and the Danes at Tranquebar; the Nawab "for men and ships against the English" and the English "for provisions and men" to sustain the siege.[1] Neither the Dutch at Nagapatam nor the Danes at Tranquebar were in any way eager to help either of the parties.[2] They flatly refused to give any help to the English and evaded any assistance to the Nawab by offering a variety of excuses.[3] The French sent their envoy by name Monsieur Desperez to the Nawab's camp on 15-3-1702. Desperez was well received and left the Nawab carrying costly set of robes and a fine horse to Pondicherry as gifts for Governor Martin with an assurance that the Nawab would always be friendly to the French Royal Company.[4] Seven days later on 22-3-1702 two Dutch men arrived at St. Thome from Pulicat, accompanied by "ten half-castes and thirty armed messengers and bringing with them a considerable present". The embassy was led by Monsieur Van Derburg. They were received with great attention but strangely enough when they departed on 3-4-1702 they were far from being satisfied with the Nawab.[5]

But the parties were exhausted and both were eager for a truce. The English had suffered a great loss[6] as the siege was a hindrance to their trade and therefore sent presents from time to time of China Oranges which were sometimes rejected "as only fitt for

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III,p.405;also, Madras Diary d/12-2-1702 Diary and Consul Book, 1702, pp.15,17 and 18.

2. Madras Diary d/4-3-1702, Ibid.,p.24.

3. Son-in-law of Governor Martin of the French East India Company.

4. Manucci, Storia do Mogor,III,p.406: The Madras Diary records the French sending liquors and rarities worth about 800 pagodas to the Nawab at St, Thome. Diary and Consul.Book, 1702,p.25.

5. Ibid.,p.27. Also,Manucci, Storia do Mogor,III,p.407.

6. During the siege the English had been much straitened for food Excessive heat made it impossible to salt up any food. A large number of hogs were therefore kept which proved expensive. Diary and Consul. Book, 1702, p.87.

children" and sometimes accepted a nd more asked for.[1] On the 20th of February, the Nawab suggested that they should petition to the king and himself too would write on their behalf but the English failed to appreciate ~~their~~ his kind mediations ~~but~~ and the siege was prolonged. But the inconveniences caused by the siege ~~was~~ were apparently too great and on the 8th April 1703, they offered the Nawab Rs18,000/- provided he made restitution of all the goods seized at both Madras and at Fort St. David.[2] The offer was refused and the matter procrastinated.

The siege had now progressed for nearly three months. Probably realising the futility of his attempts the Nawab thought of withdrawing. On the 16th May 1703, the siege was raised, the terms finally agreed upon being that the English would pay a sum of Rs 20,000 to the Na wab and 5,000 privately to the Diwan[3] in the consideration of which the Nawab would on his part return the booty and make good all the damage sustained by the Company.[4]

Thus was ended this notable blockade of Madras. The Nawab was not primarily responsible for the blockade as it has been already seen that the siege was executed in obedience to the Imperial orders. No doubt remains that the siege was prolonged with a view finally to obtain as large an amount from the English as was possible, before it was finally raised, which pointed out that the Nawab was acute enough to work out things to his own advantage.

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1. Diary d/15-2-1702. Madras Diary and Consul. Book, 1702, pp 18, 21, 29.

2. Ibid., d/8-4-1702 p. 33,

3. Dairy d/3-5-1702, ibid. p. 36 .

4. Diary d/5-5-1702. Ibid. p. 38. Manucci puts the date at May 17th According to the new style the official date would be May 16. See Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 413.

On the 4 th July the Nawab sent his orders to all the killedars and jagirdars to deliver up to the English all the money and goods seized during the siege.[1] On 22nd August the Nawab was presented with one hundred bottles of liquor and some rarities[2]; on the 15th November the Nawab favoured the English Governor with a tasheref and a horse[3] and finally in the beginning of December the Nawab had fulfilled all the terms of the treaty and called upon the English to pay the agreed sum.[4]

While engaged in the blockade of Madras, the Nawab received earnest calls of help from the queen of Trichinopoly who was at this time at variance with her neighbour the prince of Udāyar-palaiyam. With the letter of the queen the Nawab received Rs 2 0,000 in s ilver coins and Rs 10,000 for the Bakshi as presents. But as he was engaged at the siege , he could spare only a few troops.

Soon after the trou bles with the English being settled, the Nawab moved westward with the intention of clearing the Karnatic of the Mahrattas. The opposition he had to meet was apparently not very stubborn, since the Mahrattas were principally employed in the North and had left the Karnatic unmolested. Towards the end of 1702 the Nawab was occupied in capturing the fortress of Vellore. The date of the fall of this fortress is very doubtful, in as much as very few contemporaries refer to this event . Grant Duff puts this event in the year 1704 when,

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1. Madras diary d/22-5-1702 and 25-5-1702. Diary and Consul. Book, 1702, p. 356-7.
2. Ibid., p. 73.
3. Ibid., p. 93.
4. Ibid., p. 96.
5. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 411.

he says, "Mannaju Moray surrendered the fortress to Daud Khan for which he was promised a munsub by the Emperor."[1] According to Manucci[2] the fortress was captured on August 14th, 1702. However in the light of the accounts of this event supplied by Christian missionaries, the dates given both by Manucci and Duff are falsified. "The Account of the Voyage of Father Maudit to the west of the Carnatic in 1701" shows the Nawab blockading the fortress for a long time and overrunning the whole country.[3] It has however been observed that in 1701 the Nawab was at St. Thome creating trouble with the English so that either the siege of Vellore did not take place in 1701 or that the Nawab had deputed one of the generals to carry on the siege in his absence. Another Jesuit missionary Fr. Tachard lends support to the latter view. He relates in a letter dated 4-2-1703 that the Nawab had sent a Rajput by name "Sek" against Vellore which was being besieged for several months and was on the point of surrendering.[4] The attempts of this Rajput general to take the fortress were not very successful and he was joined later by the Nawab himself, in person, towards the end of 1702. That the Nawab had actually

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1. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p. 308. Manucci states that Gulam Ali Khan was the Governor of Vellor who surrendered the place to Daud Khan. See Storia do Mogor, III, p. 486. But Manucci is apparently wrong for Gulam Ali Khan was the brother of Sayed Khan, the Diwan of Daud Khan and was appointed as Killedar of Vellor in 1705 by the Emperor. See Pillai, Raja Desing of Gingee translated by Dr Aiyangar Journal of Indian History, IX, part II, p. 13.

2. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 421.

3. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VI, p. 168-69.

4. Ibid., p. 198.

joined in the siege of Vellor becomes apparent when we consider Manucci's account which says "when Daud Khan mastered the fortress he had all the thieves caught in the army thrown to the crocodiles" which infested the ditch of the fortress "about fifty cubits in length and filled by springs rising in it."[1] If the account of Fr. Tachard is to be relied upon the fortress had not fallen on 3-2-1703 although it was then on the point of surrendering. The fact that we find the Nawab in the beginning of March of the same year at Cadapah 137 miles N.W. of Madras, where he had presumably moved after the fall of the fortress,[2] would lead us to conclude that the fortress had fallen between 3-2-1703 and the beginning of the the next month, more probably towards the end of February 1703.

While at Cadapah the Nawab once more threatened the English as well as the French. The English were asked to give up certain villages granted to them by Nawab Zoolfikar Khan and the French to give up all their possessions. The Nawab's action was without doubt attributable to greed, and both the English and the French were resolved not to submit timidly. The English claimed the villages as their own which they were determined to retain in their own possession. The French, though they refused to comply with the Nawab's orders, tempered their refusals with a few presents.
However, after a few further manifestations of threats the matter was given up by the Nawab.

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 486-87
2. Manucci visits the Nawab at Kadapa in March 1703. Ibid p 483.
3. Ibid., p. 484.

No sooner had it come to the notice of the Emperor that the Nawab Daud Khan had cleared the Karnatic of the Mahrattas, then he issued orders to that general to march to the south to exact payments from the Raja of Tanjore, the queen of Trichinopoly and other neighbouring princes.[1] To execute the orders of the Emperor, the Nawab moved southwards and halted about 10 miles south of Fort St. David at Mannaloorepata, where he arrived on the 20th May 1703.[2] The queen of Trichinopoly agreed to pay six lacs of rupees, one-half of the sum in cash with security for the other half.[3] A similar settlement was made with the king of Tanjore, but it is not known for what definite sum. After receiving the tributes, the Nawab's intention was to halt for a few days at Chillimbrum and from thence to move towards Porto Novo.[4]

Great preparations were rife for the Nawab's reception at Porto Novo, where he arrived early in June 1703 after having settled accounts with Tanjore and Trichinopoly.[5] The English sent their envoy by name Mr. James with a present which was accepted and left soon with the customary tashreef for the Governor. On the 10th at about 3 P.M. the Nawab appeared near Fort St. David with about 600 horse and between 4 and 5 P.M. the whole army numbering about 10,000 horse stretched their tents from Tripopillore to Bandipollam. "In the rear of the army came Daud Cawn with the Duan and Abdul Zebby which proved very fortunate for just as they passed near Cuddalore Mr. James arrived with a serpaw for the

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 423-24
2. Appendix p.57.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

Deputty Governour from the Na bob which was received with foreing of Gunns with occasined Dowed Cawn to enquire what was the meaning thereof and being told seemed very well pleased therewith."[1] It was apparent that no evil intention was meant and the Nawab assured the Governor of his friendship to him and to the inhabitants.[2] On the 11th orders were issued to the army to decamp which was done towards noon. Before his departure the Nawab sent the English governor a sum of money on his own initiative to be delivered "in his name to such of the renters or Inhabitants that had suffer'd any wrong"[3] at the hands of his army.

For the next few months we hear nothing of the Nawab or or of his activities. He had returned by the end of the year to his capital at Arcot and in June 1704 the English presented him with liquors worth 30 pagodas.[4] It was the general report towards the end of April 1704 that the Nawab was making preparations at Arcot with a view once more to proceed to Tanjore to collect tribute.[5] But before his plans could mature a powerful Mahratta force of 6000 men penetrated into the Carnatic, in the beginning of May 1704.[6] They encamped at Sera (Upper Mysore) entered Trichinopoly and thence proceeded to Tanjore.[7] At the same time

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1. Appendix p.55
2. Ibid., 156.
3. Madras Diary. June 1704; Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 1704. p. 3
4. Appendix p.48 ;Also see Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p. 504
5. Appendix p.48
6. Appendixpp.57

as the Nawa b was making preparations to meet the new enemy[1], he sent an envoy to the Mahratta camp offering Rs 200,000 as the price of their withdrawal[2]. The Mahrattas were however in no mood to withdraw and they considered the price too low.. The Nawab seeing himself practically helpless against such a force left Arcot[3] and fortified himself at Vellore[4] that fortress being the strongest in the whole of the Karnatic. Even then apprehensive that his army and his forces would not justify resistance to the enemy, he considered it fit to come to terms and paid five Lacs of rupees to secure the withdrawal of the enemy.

Although the Marattas were bought over they continued their ravages in the direction of Adoni and Sera. The Emperor, on receipt of the information, ordered Daud Khan to take up the additional post of the Governor of Adoni[5] and entrusted to his charge the Government of Golconda. The Nawab started for Adoni in the month of August 1704, but before he could reach that place, he was surrounded by the Mahrattas and forced to seek shelter in Darmavaram in the Anantpur district, about two hundred miles N.W. of Madras, where he defended himself valiantly. At length, it was settled that the Mahrattas should receive Rs 700,000 and retired to Sera. The Emperor on hearing of the discomfiture

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1. Appendix P.48
2. Manucci Storia do Mogor, III, p. 504.
3. Lattitude 12° 54" Longitude 79° 7" 65 miles wst of Madras.
4. Vellore 14 miles west of Arcot.
5. 261 miles North West of Madras.

of the Nawab's forces, sent out strict injunctions to the latter to expel the Maharattas from both the regions of Sera and of Golconda. But the resources at the command of the Nawab were apparently too restricted to effect such a purpose and he requested the Emperor to relieve him of the charge of the Karnatic and appoint some other man in his place.[1] The Nawab returned to Arcot by the middle of November 1704.[2]

The original intention of the Nawab which had been disturbed by the Maharattas incursions into the Karnatic was to proceed to Tanjore & Trichinapoly to exact tribute. The dispute with the Maharattas settled, the Nawab once more turned his attention to Tanjore and commenced preparations to lead an expedition against that place.[3] Starting from Arcot, he arrived at Conjeveram about the 15th December 1704,[4] designing for St. Thomé. However, before he could proceed further, urgent messages arrived fromthe Imperial Court desiring his immediate presence with all the forces at his command.

After the reduction of almost all the forts of Satara, Parli, Visalgargh, Panalah, Tornah etc., Aurangzeb had quitted the neighbourhood of Poona and marched towards Bijapur. The independent Mahratta Chiefs were creating trouble and committing ravages about Bijapur, Koolbarja and Bedar. The Naik of Wagingera had become powerful and was committing every

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, IV, pp. 59& 98.

2. Appendix, p.1.

3. Ibid.

4. Madras Diary d/ 15-12-1704, Diary and Consul. Book, 1704, p.100

species of rapine. After his arrival at Bijapur, the Emperor determined to proceed in person against Wagingera [1] towards the end of 1704. All the best efforts of the Emperor however proving futile against the tenacity of the Berad chiefs, he summoned his ablest generals from all sides in the beginning of 1705 with their choicest troops. [2] Nawab Daud Khan was one of those so summoned. In these circumstances and in accordance with the orders of the Emperor, the Nawab appointed Dewan ~~Mahomed~~ Muchammad ~~Syed~~ sayed Khan to officiate in his place, with instructions to submit regular reports of the administration and himself set out for the Imperial head.quarters where he arrived in April 1705. Soon after his arrival Wagingera was stormed on 27th April the Nawab leading one of the storming Contingents. The town and fortress were soon evacuted after the environs had been occupied with heavy losses on both sides. [3] While still at Wagingera the Emperor issued orders for Daud Khan to resume the charge of the Carnatic with clear instructions to collect and send to the Imperial Court as much revenue as possible. [4] In persuance of the Imperial mandate the Nawab left the Court and arrived at Arcot in the beginning of June 1705. [5] His arrival in the Carnatic "with additional powers and honours" [6] was an auspicious occasion and a great opportunity for the European Nations to win his

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1. Sarkar, History of Auraggzeb, V, Pp. 220-234.

2. Ibid, Also Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas I. 308 and Ferishta, (Scott) II, 117.

2a. Pellai, Raja Desing of Gingee, translated by Dr. Aiyanger.- Journal of Indian History, IX, part I, P.13.

3. Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, V, p.232. (4) Manucci, Storia DO Mogor, IV p. 238. (5). Madras Diary June 1705 Diary and Consul. Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1705 p. 72. (6) Ibid.

pleasure by timely gifts and congratulatory letters[1]. Accordingly did the English at Fort St. George forward a congratulatory letter with presents worth Pagodas 227-10 fanams comprising one chest of Rosewater, 1 chest of pickles, some fruits, 1 silver Manilla trunk with gold chain valuing 100 pagodas and 1 Seer and 4 ounces of Musk. Imitating the English, the French at Pondicherry also forwarded some presents but they were not accepted as the persons carrying the present were not "fit to talk with."[2] In return for the gifts of the English the Nawab sent the Governor a horse and a tasheriff[3] on 22-9-1705 which were received with the usual solemnity of the firing of guns.

In compliance ~~of~~ with the Imperial orders he had received on his reappointment to collect as large a revenue as possible, the Nawab marched to the south of the river Cauvery to exact tribute, and on 26-2-1706 we find the English Garrison at Fort St. David being strengthened in anticipation of ~~the~~ trouble.[4] In March of the same year the Nawab was in the neighbourhood of Fort St. David and the English thought it politic to make him a present worth 300 to 400 pagodas.[5] This time the tribute collected was apparently very heavy and the Nawab was able to send a Revenue ~~of~~ "fifty per cent in excess of that usually paid" namely Rs 15 lacs yearly.[6]

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1. Ibid.
2. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, IV, p. 239
3. Madras Diary d/ 22-9-1705. Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1705, p. 127.
4. Madras Diary d/26-2-1706 Ibid., 1706, p.12~~1~~.
5. Madras Diary d/9-3- 1706. Ibi d., p. 20
6. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, IV, p. 238

yearly."[1]

In April Daud Khan returned to Arcot and expected some presents from the English. The Governor (Pitt) once more complimented him with a bottle of liquor,[2] as evidently this was the present the Nawab would like the best.

The return of the Nawab to Arcot was in all probability occasioned by the arrival of the Maharattas in the Karnatic. The Mogul offensive in the ~~ocean~~ Deccan had done very little to keep under check the marauding bands of the Maharatta forces and one such force under the joined command of Hindu Rao and Peda Bedarah entered the Karnatic and took possession of the great fortress of Penukonda[3] "the key of both the Karnatiks".[4] On July 1st Daud Khan commenced his march against Penukonda. On reaching that fortress operations were immediately commenced but the Mahrattas continued to hold out till August when an offer of seven lacs to one of the generals[5] secured the fortress to the Nawab on 11-8-1706. The affairs with the Maharattas being settled the Nawab started for St. Thomé. He arrived at Poonamallee on the 31st October# and at St. Thomé on the 1st. November with a force of nearly 600 horse and foot.[6] Immediately on his arrival he visited the Bishop of St. Thomé who received him in the Church. On his departure from

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1. Pillai, Raja Desing of Gingee, translated by Dr. Aiyangar. Journal of Indian History IX, part I p.13
2. Diary and Consul. Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1706 p.531 Diary d/18-4-1706
3. Penukond (Great hill) a town fort and mountain in the Anantpur district, 195 miles N.N.W. of Madras. It is strongly fortified and commands the passes upto the Madras plateau.
4. Ferishta, (Scott), II p.124. Manucci, Storia Do Mogor IV, p.249; see also Sarkar, History of Aurangzeb, V, p.
5. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, IV, p.263. Also Ferishta (Scott), II, p.122.

#. Diary and Consul. Book ~~of Fort St. George~~ 1706, p.98.

6. Ibid.

the presence of "the most illustrious", the Nawab made a gift of Rs 350/- to the church.[1]

The English at Fort St. George were prepared for the Nawab's arrival. On the 1st November they sent their Moolah and Brahmin to the Nawab's camp, who returning, reported the design of the latter to stay some days at a garden house, a little to the south of the town and also his earnest desire to dine with the Governor.[2] Not satisfied with the intelligence conveyed by the Moolah and the Brahmin a deputation was sent by the English Governor on the 3rd consisting of Mr. Robert Rawforth,[3] John Fredrick,[4] Henry Davenport,[5] Mr. Coningsby, Dr. Bulkley and Manucci to wait upon the Nawab and try if possible to get altered his intentions about taking a dinner.[6] In front of the deputation marched "100 men of the country" followed by two men carrying two flags after whom came the members of the deputation, four of whom rode handsome Arabian and Persian horses, "the doctor and Manucci being in Palanquins, 62 European soldiers and a sergeant bringing up the rear!"[7] The deputation found the Nawab in simple raiments seated in a small bedstead in a large tent near the seashore. On their entering the tent they met with "extraordinary

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, IV, p. 129

2. Madras Diary d/2-11-1706. Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1706, p. 98

3. Fifth member of the Council of Fort St. George and paymaster. Afterwards Deputy Governor of Fort St. David.

4. Sixth member of the Council of Fort St. George.

5. Steward under the East India Company.

6. Madras Diary d/3-11-1706. Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1706, p. 100

7. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, IV, p. 130

kind reception" the Nawab embracing each one of them, at the same time professing to be a friend of the English. When the deputation finally departed the principal envoys received an emerald ring valued at 40 pagodas each. Mr. Coningsby and Dr. Bulkley received similar rings but of the value of 20 pagodas each and also a jewel was sent for the governor worth a hundred to hundred and fifty pagodas.[1] However kindly the deputation was received, they failed to carry out the purpose for which they were sent, in as much as the Nawab's desire to take the dinner at the Fort had become pressingly ardent and it would be impolitic to refuse him. A day was finally appointed but it was arranged that the Nawab's retinue should be restricted to 20 men only.

On the morning of the 4th Narain and Moolah proceeded to wait upon the Nawab at St. Thome and to escort him to the Company's garden where the same deputation with the addition of Mr. Lister, the son-in-law of D. Chardine, a famous merchant of Madras, awaited his arrival. Escorted by 200 men, horse and foot, the Nawab arrived at the garden at about noon and insisted that the dinner should be served in the garden to which the Governor readily complied and the banquest was accordingly held in the place. After dinner presents were offered to the Nawab which he at first refused but accepted them later. The presents amounted to not more than 1000 pagodas[2] including among other things eight pieces of broad cloth in variegated colours, several silver plates, candle-sticks,

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1. Madras Diary d/3-11-1706. Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1706, p. 100. Manucci estimates each ring at ₹ 200/- and the jewel of the Governor at ₹ 500/-. See Storia do Mogor, IV, p. 130.

2. Madras Diary d/4-11-1706. Diary and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1706, p. 103.

pan-boxes, basins, ink-stands, scent-sprinklers, two large mirrors in gilt frames, chests of liquors and Persian wine, chests of rose-water etc. Among the eatables presented were a large quantity of dried fruits, almonds, walnuts, filberts, pistachios, apricots etc.[1] After having received the presents, the Nawab returned to St. Thome, the whole entertainment costing the English 1174 pagodas, 31 fanams and 40 cash.[2]

Soon after his return to St. Thomé, the Nawab fell ill, the complaint being Sciatica pains.[3] The services of Dr. Burkley were requisitioned, who was retained at the court for a month on a handsome allowance of ₹ 13/- a day with "food sufficient for 20 persons". It was during this illness that the Nawab was honoured by a visit from Lord Bishop who presented him with torches and candles of white wax which "he received very courteously"[4]

We have so far narrated the activities of the Nawab from year to year a nd, even from month to month, as far as records permitted. But towards the end of the year 1706 there follows a break of about a year during which period the Nawab to all intents and purposes remained at Arcot.

At 10 A.M. on the 21st January 1708 Daud Khan once more arrived at St. Thome ostensibly with a view to collect presents from the French at the head of about 25,000 troops.[5] He remained

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, IV, p. 131
2. Madras Diary. Diary and Consultation Book, ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1706, p. 103
3. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, IV, p. 132
4. Ibid
5. 1000 horse and 1500 foot. Diary d/21-1-1708. Diary and Consultation Book, ~~of Fort George~~, 1708, p. 8

at St. Thomé during which time he was always to be found in bad mood, always drinking hard, and grumbling at the ~~same~~ small presents of the English ~~when~~ as compared with the gifts of the Dutch and the French[1], who, he said, gave him "twice as much"[2] On the 4th February he set out for his camp at Arcot and from there started to the South to collect tributes. On 29-3-1708 we find him returning from the South and the English at Fort St. David making preparations in anticipation of his arrival.[3]

We have now to narrate the progress of the events at the Imperial head-quarters which occassioned the Nawab's withdrawal from the Karnatic at this time. On Friday the 21st February 1707 Aurangzeb expired in his camp at Ahmednagar. He left behind him three sons . The eldest, Prinee Muazzam better known as Shah Alam, was then the Governor of Kabul. The second by name Prince Azam was the Governor of Gujarat and the youngest Prince Kambaksh was the Governor of the ~~Deccan~~ Bijapur. To the measure of their respective abilities each of the sons followed the example of ~~their~~ his father in asserting his own claim. Moving from Kabul Prince Muazzam arrived near Agra where he had a battle with his brother Prince Azzam at Jajau to the South of Agra on 20-6-1707.[4] The battle ended ~~with~~ in the defeat and death of Prince Azzam and the proclamation of Muazzam as the emperor. The victorious prince then marched to the Deccan against his brother Kambaksh who was unable

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1 Madras Diary d/4-2-1708. Dairy and Consultation Book ~~of Fort St. George~~, 1708, p 10

2. Ibid.

3. Madras Diary d/29-3-1708. Ibid. p. 16

4 Irwine, Later Mughals, I, p. 25

to move from the Deccan. Zoolfikar Khan, the late Nawab of the Karnatic, joined the new Emperor now known as Bahauder Shah and despatched express orders to Daud Khan at the Carnatic to come over with the best of his troops.

Nawab Daud Khan had in the meanwhile arrived at St. Thome on 23-9-1708, evidently with the intention of proceeding to Golconda to join the Emperor. When this news reached the Government of Fort St. George, they thought it expedient to send yet another deputation to the Nawab's court. Accordingly, a member of the Council by name Mr. Rawforth and the Secretary by name Mr. Davenport set out on 25-9-1708 carrying with them presents worth 200 pagodas, obviously with the intention of preserving his friendship when he once more resumed charge of the Carnatic. In return for the presents the Nawab granted the English a parwana for five new towns of Tungunbaucum, Vasalvada, Trivatore, Sa tangadu and Catawank valued at 15 hundred pagodas per annum. On the evening of 30-9-1708 the Nawab departed for Arcot, from which place a move was made for the king's court at Golconda where he arrived on 7-12-1708 and was duly presented. The Government of the Carnatic was in the meantime left in charge of Sadat-ulla-khan, the Diwan. The day after his arrival the Nawab paraded his troops with a hundred elephants a nd presented 11 lacs of rupees and 19 elephants to Zoolfikar Khan.

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1. Diary and Consul.Book,1708,p.50.
2. Nawab's Perwanna dated 28-9-1708 to the English,-Ibid.,p.51. Also, Despatches from England 1706-10, p.94, para 40.
3. Ibid.
4. Irvine, Later Mughals, I,p.60.
5. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India,I,p.226.
6. Irvine, Later Mughals,I,p.60.

The expected battle between the two surviving sons of Aurangzeb was atlast fought near Hyderabad. The fate of the battle was never for a moment in doubt. The Emperor's forces were decidedly superior to that of his brother so that he was spotted out as the winner. Daud Khan shared with other officers the command of the right wing[1] and when the battle was over it was he who along with some Afghans, captured the person of the Prince ~~who however had been~~ already mortally wounded.[2]

When Shah Alam of Bahauder Shah finally retired from the Deccan in the beginning of January 1709 he left the Government of the whole of the Deccan in charge of Zoolfika r Khan, who, in his turn, left it in charge of Daud Khan as Deputy while he attended the Court in person.[3] Zoolfikar Khan also obtained the Government of Burhanpur in addition to his other appointment.[4]

Henceforth Daud Khan remained in the Deccan leaving the affairs of the Carnatic to be managed by Sadat-ullah-khan as the man on the spot. Unfortunately the few following years are to a great extent blank so that it is not possible to relate the story of the Nawab's activities. We have a few scattered references in the Diary Books of Fort St. George and they are perhaps the only source of our information.

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1. Irvine, Later Moghals, I, p. 62
2. It has been stated that the wound which caused the death of the prince was at the hands of Nawab Daud Khan. See Catrou, Histoire de Mogol, IV, p. 285. He states that "Daut Cawn signala sa craute et tout à fois son zèle pour Chahalam, en coupant la tête d'un si bon prince". But the prince's head was never severed from the trunk
3. Ferishta, (Scott), II, p. 46
4. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p. 319

Removed from the direct touch of his principality of the Carnatic, the Nawab however continued his demands upon the European settlements and his thirst for first class European liquors remained fresh as ever so that his request to the English for one thousand bottles of liquor on 10-2-1709 should occasion little surprise.[1] Apart from such minor transactions, the subject of five new towns made over to the English in 1708 led to endless disputes and correspondence. Towards the middle of 1709 he demanded the rendition of these towns but the English sent him 400 bottles of liquor[2] and the Nawab in a fit of generosity not only confirmed the grant of the towns but also presented the Company with 40 acres of ~~town~~ ground at the Mount for a house with a garden as a sanatorium for the Company's servants.[3] Shortly afterwards, the demand on the towns was renewed on the plea that they belonged to the jagir of Zoolfikar Khan now styled Khan Bahauder.[4] Mr. Fraser,[5] the then Governor of Fort St. George, determined to resist and sent armed parties to Trivatore and Nungunbankum.[6] In the meanwhile, however, the Nawab himself had been recalled to Delhi,[7] perhaps in consequence of the Sikh rising, but before his departure he had evidently left clear instructions to his Diwan Saadatulla-Khan

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1. Diary and Consultation Book of Fort St. George, 1709, p.21.
2. D. Love, Vestiges of old Madras, II, p.105. - The Despatch from England dated 3-1-1710 gives only "One hundred Bottles of Rose Water." - See Despatches from England, 1706-10, p.142, para 67.
3. Madras Diary and Consultation Book, 1710, p.4.
4. Madras Diary dated 20-4-1710, Ibid., p.37.
5. Governor of Fort St. George November 1709 to July 1711.
6. Madras Diary dated 25-4-1710, Diary and Consul.Book, 1710, p.39.
7. Madras Diary 21-11-1709, Diary and Consul.Book, 1709, p.102.

t o pester the English into the submission of the towns with a view to draw as large an amount from them as possible. Accordingly the Divan in May-June 1710 demanded the five towns[1] as also four old towns of Egmore, Pursewaukum, Tandore and Triplicane granted by Asad Khan and Zoolfikar Khan some twenty years back.[2] However loth e Governor Fraser might have been to hand over the towns and however resolute to stop this encroachment upon the Company's possessions, the towns were finally seized upon and could only be reobtained by no less a present[3] than 878 pagodas, to be once more taken away after about six months possession in 1711.[4]

While in the Deccan the Nawab cultivated most friendly relations with the Mahrattas. When Raja Rama died in 1700 his wife Tara Bai, a woman endowed with masculine vigour and ability, kept up a state of warfare till Aurangzeb's death in 1707. The release of Shahu, the grandson of Sivaji who was then a state prisoner at the Emperor's Coutt had been more than once proposed ~~to~~ to Aurangzeb as a counterpoise to the party of Raja Rama's family. Aurangzeb had already caused him to be married to two families but he would not think of releasing him. When Bahauder Shah succeeded to the throne, acting on the advice of Zoolfikar Khan, he released Shahu which created the anticipated civil war among the Mahrattas. Daud Khan settled with such Mahratta Chiefs as acknowledged Shahu's authority and a friendly agreement was made whereby the Mahrattas

1. Diary and Consultation Book, 1710, pp.50, 51 and 63.
2. Supra p.
3. Despatches from England, 1706-10, p.142, para 67.
4. Despatches from England, 1710-13, p.14, para 55.

on the one hand, promised to keep clear of the land in charge of Daud Khan both in the Carnatic and the Deccan for which the Nawab on the other hand, would pay them one-fourth of the revenues termed chauth, over and above the usual payment of tithe known as Sardeshmukhi.[1]

In 1712 Bahaudur Shah died. His death was followed by the usual wars of succession. The eldest Jehander Shah succeeded to the throne. His rule lasted for 11 months when there was a rebellion headed by Farruksiyar who with the assistance of the Sayed brothers defeated the emperor and succeeded to the throne. The accession of Farruksiyar early in 1713 was followed by important changes in the Deccan. This was the appointment of Chin Kulich Khan, the son of Ghazi-ud-din as the Subah of the Deccan. Daud Khan was removed to the government of Ahmedabad in Gujarat, while Sadat-ulla-Khan was appointed Nawab in the two Carnatics.[2]

We have thus far traced the history of the third Nawab of the Carnatic. The events of the administration throw a light on the manner in which small divisions of the Empire were governed. Nawab Daud Khan strictly adhered to the principles laid down by his immediate predecessor Zoolfikar Khan and his great endeavours were to undertake predatory tours with a view to exact tributes, to remain on freindly terms with powers like the Mahrattas and to send yearly payments to the Imperial treasury. Under a soldier of great daring and reputed recklessness there is no wonder therefore

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1. Khafi Khan, Muntakhabu-L-Lubab, Elliot, History of India, VII, p. 348; also, Tarikh-I-Ibrahimkhan-i, ~~Ibid, p. 260~~

2. Irwin, Later Mughals, I, p. 263. Daud Khan died in 1715 in a fight against Sayed Hussain Ally Khan at Barapur. See Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p. 232.

if we notice that while the Deccan was in a state of disturbance the Carnatic remained in comparative peace.

The great soldierly virtue of valour which Daud Khan possessed to an inordinate degree, was unfortunately marred by the ferocity of his innate violent temper which made him often capriciously cruel. When angry he was capable of almost fiendish atrocities which were peculiarly enough, managed with cool, deliberation. He took a sort of delight in executing his barbarous punishments upon men guilty of offences which no cannon of justice would designate crimes. The death of a favourite ape was a sufficiently great t o have the servant in charge bound and put to death under the most cruel tortures.[1] The birth of a female baby he did not consider dignifying to his name and a child not born of wedlock was degraded enough to be dashed to the ground and spurned with the foot.[2] Apart from this

Apart from this maniacal passion for the infliction of pain Nawab Daud Khan was a confirmed drunkard. In the pages of our account we have carefully analysed the moods and passions of of the Nawab when under the influence of liquor and we have observed that though greatly precarious in temper when sober, the Nawab was capable of being free and generous when supplied freely with wine.

His one great hobby was the rearing of different sorts of animals. He kept tigers, hawks, falcons, ducks, dogs and others

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, Iv, p.256

2. Ibid., III,p.482.

animals after the care of which he spent thousands of rupees yearly.[1] When he died in 1715, among the things he left behind were a hundred elephants, seven hundred horses, some Persian greyhounds, tigers, leopards and a number of birds.[2]

The internal administration of the Carnatic as distinct from the Nawab's personal habits was mostly in the hands of Diwan Muhammad Sayed better known as Sadat-ulla-Khan, who was a capable man and carried on the government evidently to the greatest satisfaction of the Nawab. The normal government was untempered autocracy or despotism and while the Nawab indulged in the fleshy delights of wine, women and the chase, the people groaned under exactions.[3]

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1. Manucci, Storia do Mogor, IV,,p.255.

2. Ibid,p.264.

3. Ibid.,p.238;also, Khafi Khan, Muntakha bu-l-Lubab, Eliot, VII, p.433. According to Pillai the administration was conducted with justice. See Pillai,"Raja Desing of Gingee," Journal of Indian History , IX Part II, p. 13.

Chapter IV.

Sadat - Ulla - Khan.

Early in the eight century of the Christian era, Irak was ruled by Khalif Abdl - al-Malik-Bin Merwan with Hejaj Bin Yusuf as his minister. During the rule of this Khalif many respectable and opulent persons, made desperate by the cruelties of the ruler, determined to abandon their native country. Aided by the good offices of the inhabitants of Kufa, west of the river Euphrates, they departed with their families and embarked on the ships awaiting their arrival in the Persian gulf. Some of them landed on the western coast of India called the Konkan, where as some on the eastern coast of cape Comorin. The descendants of the former are called Newayats, whereas of the later Lubbes. The Newayats are fair in complexion combining with them all the military attributes. The Lubbes, as a race, are much inferior to the Newayats being of black complexion, and were, in fact, the descendants of the slaves of the Newayats, although they themselves claimed a common origin and attributed their black complexion to intermarriages with the natives of India.[1] To this respectable race of the Newayats belong Nawab Sadat-Ulla-Khan, the fourth Nawab of the Karnatic.[2]

From the early youth Sadat-Ulla Khan was known for his intelligence[3] and in 1700 he was appointed as the Diwan

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1. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p.142.
2. Ibid., p.248.
3. Pillai, Raja Desing of Ginjee, Journal of Indian History IX, p.243.

of Daud Khan in the Karnatic. There he gained considerable experience and proved himself an able administrator. It was therefore, in the fitness of things that after the retirement of Daud Khan, Sadat-Ulla-Khan should be appointed the fourth Nawab of the Karnatic. Two dates are mentioned relative to his succession. Orme dates the appointment in the year 1710,[1] but according to Wilks the appointment was made immediately after the succession of Firruksiyar[2] in the year 1713.[3] The records of Madras fix the event in the same year. Be it what it may, Orme is not far too wrong, for since the retirement of Nawab Daud Khan in 1710, Sadat-Ulla-Khan had become de facto Nawab of the Karnatic. Even the Madras Diary confuses the event, and we hear of Sadat-Ulla-Khan being called, sometimes a Nawab and at times a Diwan. In May 1710 he is stated to have become the Nawab with "the additional honours and dignity of the seaport towns,"[4] and yet in the subsequent entries he is spoken of as only the Divan of the Karnatic. Sadat-Ulla-Khan however was officially proclaimed as the Nawab in the year 1713, which position he maintained till 1732, i.e. a period of 19 years.

The events of the peroid 1710 to 1713 very properly belong to this chapter and from a very informative back-ground for the study of the Nawabship of Sadat-Ulla-Khan. Soon after Daud Khan's departure from the Carnatic in 1710, Sadat-ulla-Khan

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1. Orme, A History of Milita ry Transactions, I, p.37.
2. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p.226 n.
3. Madras Diary of Maxxk2k0x of 8-10-1713 referred to by Wheeler, Madras in Olden Times, II, p.196.
4. Madras Diary of May 1710, Dia ry and Consul.Book 1710, p.60.

set out for the,south. On the 21st October 1710 he was reported travelling towards Chillumbrum on his way to Tanjore for the collection of tributes.[1] While the Nawab was engaged in these activities, the country on the whole remained unsettled which state of affairs continued.for a few years to follow.[2]

In 1712-13 Sadat-Ulla Khan was mostly engaged in the persecution of what was not improperly termed "a contribution war." While in the tract of the country between Sera and Bengalore he was opposed by the Mysoreans who kept him engaged in "a squirmishing campaign of various success."[3] This campaign was not apparently very successful, but moderate contribution was collected both from Tanjore and Mysore.[4]

The most important event of the reign of Sadat-Ulla-Khan was his expedition against Ginjee and the final conquest of that place. After the reduction of Ginjee by Zoolfikar Khan a Bundela chieftain from the North named Sarup Singh was appointed a Killedar in the year of Vekrama 1700 A.D. under the Imperial Orders.[5] The territories appertaining to this chief cannot be strictly outlined,but he had probably under his jurisdiction the lands bounded on the North by the territories under the Nawab of the Carnatic and on the South by Trichinopoly and Tanjore. The territories under his charge also included the places of

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1. Madras Diary dated 27-10-1710. Diary and Consul. Book,1710, p. 110.

2. Ibid., p.62; also Diary and Consul. Book 1712, p.67.

3. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p.225-26 also see letter of Fr. Gac, S.J. to his brother Joseph Gac of the same society. ~~Les~~ Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, VII, p. 204-205 & 208.

4. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p.226. Also see Madras Diary April 1712, Diary and Consul Book,1712,p.67.

5. Pillai, Raja Desing of Ginjee, Journal of Indian History, IX, p.12.

Valudavur, Tundivanam, Trukkoyilur, Vattavalam, Tiruvanatur and Assurpur.[1] His authority was supreme in the territory made over to his charge, but he was supposed to be under the Nawab of the Karnatic. It would appear that the administration was carried on to the entire satisfaction of Nawab Daud Khan, but during the anarchy and confusion immediately following the death of Aurangzeb he tried to be independant, and was rather slack in paying his dues to the court. On the occasion of Farruksiyar's accession to the throne it was reported to the emperor that Sirup Singh owed ₹ 70 lacs to the foujdari and was generally disobedient to the Nawab.[2] Sirup Singh was ordered to pay up his dues, but before matters could be settled he died about the 20th December 1713.[3]

In accordance with the customary rules of succession Desing Raja was to succeed his father Sirup Singh to the foujdari of Jinjee. He was at Bundlekhan when the news of his father's illness reached him. On receipt of the intelligence he started from Bundlekhan with a very slender force, stayed for some time at Bidanur, and finally reached Jinjee where he assumed charge. The Nawab evidently took objection to the succession on technical grounds and claimed that Desing had no right to succeed unless he obtained the confirmation to his succession from the emperer.[4]

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1. Srinivasachari, The History of Ginjee, p. 16.
2. Pillai, Raja Desing of Ginjee , Journal of Indian History, IX, p. 14.
3. Wheeler, Madras in Olden Times, II, p.

Emperor.[1] The Nawab's line of action cannot, under all pretence of justice, be defended, as his action was determined by his knowledge of the fact that the ~~Padshaw~~ Emperor was not likely to confirm Desing in the place of Sarup Singh, who was welknown as a regular defaulter in payments of the revenue. But Desing claimed absolute right of Killedari with the result that his short rule of a few months was one of marked hostility to the Nawab, culminating in the latter's campaign against Jinjee.

It must be said to the credit of the Nawab, however, that before actually marching against Jinjee, he employed all peaceful measures and ordered Todar Mahal, his foreign secretary, to proceed to Jinjee and show Desing the Emperor's firman and "take quiet possession of the fortress peacefully as well as the Jaghir lands attached thereto, and to send down Raja Desing."[2] All the efforts of Todar Mahal were however fruitless. Desing was too head-strong and short sighted to listen to reason and would by no means allow his Jagir to be taken possession of by the Nawab's men[3], which he was determined to defend till the last. Moving from Arcot with all the forces at his command, he soon arrived on the bounds of Jinjee, having received on the way

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1. Pillai, Raja Desing of Ginjee, Journal of Indian History, IX, pp 15-16. Garstin states that the pretence was an order from the court to take possession of the place. See Garstin, Manual of South Arcot, p. 59. The order from the court was not a pretence but an actual fact as will be evidenced from the following extract of the letter from Messrs John Surman and Cojee Seeraad at Delhi to Mr. Edward Harrison, the Governor of Fort St. George :"concerning Sadatulla Cawns taking the fort of Chinjee We have ~~ax~~examin'd & fund, that as soon as the news arriv'd at Court, that Raja Seroop Singh was dead, orders were sent from hence to his son to deliver up that Government to Sadatulla Cawn, he having orders likewise to receive it, which the Raja not thinking fit to comply with said fort was taken from him by force, this victory in the king's behalf has very much pleas'd this Court." Diary and Consul Book, 1715, ~~p. 135~~

2. Pillai, Raja Desing of Ginjee, Journal of Indian History, IX, p. 16.

3. For fuller details of Todar Mahal's mission to Desing's Court, See Ibid., p. 16-17.

additional contingents from the Killedar of Arin by name Venkat Rao and that of Chetput by name Salabet Khan. The Nawab's forces numbered more than 30,000 horse and foot when he actually entered Jinjee. The forces of Desing were much restricted as they number'd 350 horse of his own and 500 soldiers of the fort. The slender force was however supplementdd by about 50 horse under the cammand of Mohabat Khan, the son of the killedar of Valudatvur and two of his friends. With reckless mess born of despair, Desing resolved to offer battle, but only a part of his slender force would follow him in this mad enterprise, and when he actually issued out from the fort, he was followed by 200 horse with Mohabat Khan. The Nawab, in appreciation of this bold action on the part of Desing, sent Daulat Khan with only a part of his army with instructions to capture him alive. Desing launched the attack in person and made straight for Daulat Khan, who, in accordance with the Nawab's orders, was urging his men to capture Desing alive. But it was unfortunate that in the course of the manoeuvring Daulat Khan's body was pierced through by Desing's sword. The fate of his general determined the Nawab to advance in person. On the approach of the Nawab, Desing urged his horse on to the Nawabb elephant and was near killing him, when he had to be shot down [1] [2] so that the Nawab's life may be preserved. The death of Desing

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1. According to Sewell Desing was not killed. He was only seized and imprisoned. See Sewell, Lists of Antiquities, Madras, II, p. 263.

2. The account of this campaign his mostly taken from Pillai's account of Raja Desing of Ginjee translated by Dr. Aiyangar in the Journal of Indian History, IX. The account of Pillai bears distinctive traits of authencity and the manner in which it is related leaves no doubt in the mind that the account is fair and unprejudiced.

left no defender for the fort of Jinjee which surrendered on the 3rd October 1714.[1]

The death of Desing was followed by the immolation of his wife, who, with the acquiescence of the Nawab, performed Sati, and died on the funeral pire of her husband. The place where Desing and his wife were burnt was erected a beautiful garden and a town was built by the Nawab's orders on the banks of the Palaar, near Arcot, called Rani Pettah, in memory of the bravery of Desing's widow.[2] A masjid was also built within the fort and the date of the capture of Jinjee was engraved on stone on the Fateh Darwaja.[3]

The importance of the campaign of Jinjee cannot be ~~gain-~~ gainsaid. It extinguished for ever the Rajput line that had ruled ~~said.~~ over Jinjee since 1700 and increased the power and prestige of the Nawab in the Karnatic. Soon after the reduction of the fort, the Nawab took under his direct charge the Government of that place. The administration was reorganized, rents and ~~taxs~~ taxes rearranged, and new posts of the Killedar, the naib-killedar, and the Jamadar were created, all of whom were placed under the orders of his "wife's sister's husband" by name Sadat ~~Tujar~~ Ziyar Khan,

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1. The date is correct when we consider the following entry in the Diary Book of Fort St. George - "Saturday - the 9th - General Letter from Depty Governr and Council of Fort St. David, dated the 6th instant read inclosing their accot of Cash for last month and advising that our Nabob hath drawn all his forces Round Chinjee & summond Seroop Singh son to surradar upon pretence of an order from Court to take passession of that place, which he refus'd to do and making a desperate salley with about 300 Rashpoots was very near killing the Nabob having cut the harness of his elephant with his own hands, but timely sullows coming in to the Nabobs rescue, Teja Singh Seroop Singh Son with Mohabat Cawn and several others of the Principal men belonging to the Chinjee overpower'd and cutt off so that it is believ'd Chinjee will surrender in a few days." - Wheeler, Madras in Olden Times, II, p. 215.
2. Pillai, Raja Desing of Ginjee, Journal of Indian History, IX, pp 21-22
3. V. Rangacharya, Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, I, No. 357, p.172

who was appointed the first Killedar of Jinjee.[1] The place now became the head-quarters of the Nawab where he remained for four years i.e. till 1718, according to Pillai, but Wilks states that the capital was transferred once more to Arcot ostensibly in the year 1716. Jinjee lost much of its former glamour and its importance as "the key of the Karnatic" disappeared as it had become a feudatory principality under the charge of the Nawab and on account of its unhealthy climate[2] it could not be retained as the Nawab's head-quarters for long.

The characteristically semi-despotic attitude adopted by Nawab Daud Khan Panni towards the English East India Company was continued by Sadat-ulla-Khan. It will be remembered that the possession of the five new towns of Trivatore, Satangadi, Vatalwanku, Vasalwadu and Nungumbakkum had for long been a bone of contention between the English and the Nawab and that the possession of these places had been resumed by the latter in 1711. Not satisfied with the retention of the new villages in his own hands, the Nawab demanded the rendition of the old towns of Egmore, Pursewalkum and Tandore on the absurd plea that they belonged to Zulfikar Khan, although it must be remembered that these towns had been made over to the English as gifts for the services rendered to Zulfikar Khan at Jinjee.[3] Apparently, the English continued to hold possession of these towns without any opposition till September 1715, when the Nawab ordered a party of horse to seize Egmore and

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1. Pillai, Raja Desing of Ginjee, Journal of Indian History, IX, p. 22.
2. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 218.
3. Madras Diary April 1715, Diary and Consul Book, 1715, pp 64-65.

and other villages and sent another party to Fort St. David with the same order to seize villages belonging to that place.[1] The Nawab, however, defended his attitude on the plea that he had his orders from the Imperial Court, which if disobeyed, he wrote in his letter dated 12-9-1715, would result in a violation of the friendship between him and the English and make him culpable of disobedience in the eyes of the emperor. It was, therefore, necessary for him to use violence in case the English did not comply with his orders peacefully.[2] The English garrison, being in a good posture of defence, did not fear much for the Nawab's action. However, towards the end of October, the Nawab pitched his camp a little way from Arcot, with a view to march to the Fort St. George in person, blockade Madras and create troubles at Fort St. David.[3] The former lesson of the siege of Madras by Daud Khan was not lost upon the English, who now saw that their best interests lay in submission. It seems however, strange that the Nawab accomodated[4] the matters on receipt of a few gifts viz. " six bales of Broad Cloth Aurora, five bales of ordinary red and five Bales of Popinjays."[4]

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1. Ibid, dated 13-9-1715, p. 105

2. Ibid.,dated 12-9-1715, p. 104

3. Ibid.October 1715, p. 125.

4. Ibid dated 27-10-1715, p. 130. In their general letter to Fort St. George d/15-2-1715, the Directors state inter alia: "We see in your letter by the Hanover and in the Consultation that the Nabob Sadatulla Cawn since his surprizing Chingee had demanded our Town of Cuddalore and the villages thereabouts. You were entirely in the right in the answer you gave him thereto and refusing to make any further than a Congratulatory present thereupon as you alsowere in the Instructions given to Sunca Rama on that account. Courage and conduct on such occasions are the best methods to prevent the avaritious designs or threaten'd Hostilitys of the Great Men round about you." - Despatches from England, 1715-18, pp 14 & 15, para 70.

Hardly was the dispute about the five towns settled then the Nawab questioned the right of the English to the possession of the five new villages and refused to grant them till he had seen the original firman of the Emperor. As an original document of great value it would be height of folly to ~~pat~~ part with it , and Governor Collet refused to comply with the Nawab's desires, and sent out armed forces to obtain the towns by force if arguments could not prevail. On 23-9-1717, Trivatore and two other villages were occupied by the English, and the following day the remaining two. A month later the Nawab's forces ~~occupied~~ reoccupied Trivatore with a force of 250 horse and 1000 foot under Doya Ram, but the very next day, the places were recaptured by the English contingent commanded by Lieutenants Roach and Fullerton.[1] Baffled in his aim, the Nawab sulked for a year, while the English rented the towns for a couple of years in accordance with the wishes of the Directors.[2] Peace was finally ~~settled~~ restored on 15-12-1718 on the English making a payment of 3000 pagodas, 2000 to the Nawab and half as much to his Secretary and ~~his~~ son-in-law by name Dackenroy. The Nawab's envoys were received in the Company's garden on the same day, where they arrived with 2 elephants, 15 horses, and about 300 peons. One of the elephants carried a chain of state with a Canoply in which sat ~~two~~ two persons carrying Seerpaws for the President.The solemnity was greater than usual, and the Nawab's presents were received with a body of nearly 500 men while all the inhabitants of the Fort came out to watch the show.

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1. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, p. 154

2. General Letter d/ 8-1-1717 from the Court of Directors to Fort St. George, Despatches from England, 1715-18, p. 111, para 65.

The gifts were received and the Nawab's health was drunk to the accompaniment of 31 guns.[1]

The peaceful relations continued to remain undisturbed till early in April 1723 when the Nawab again renewed his demand on the five villages, this time on the plea that the Governor Collet had promised to hand over the towns to him if Hussain Ali Khan's Parvana[2] was not obtained by the English.[3] The demand of the Nawab was not unreasonable. From the general letter d/2-2-1724, from the Court of Directors to Fort St. George, it becomes clear that Governor Collet had actually promised to hand over the towns, although the Directors themselves took the view that the obligation of the redelivery as undertaken by Mr. Collet was not binding upon them.[4]

Be it what it may, the Nawab appeared at St. Thome on 13-4-1723,[5] and things assumed a threatening outlook. Nathanial Elwick, who was the Governor of Fort St. George, deputed Kapaya Brahmin, Sunka Ramah and other merchants to wait upon the Nawab's minister by name ~~Duken Rao~~ Darkenroy, but the deputation was detained at St. Thome till the 16th of the month.[6] The minister's attitude had the support of the Nawab, who expressed ~~disaffection-dis~~--

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1. Wheeler, Madras in Olden Times, II, p. 296 ;also, D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, p. 155

2. Sayed Hussain Alli Khan was the suba of the Deccan at this period in place of Nizam-ul-mulk, who had been transferred to Malwa.

3. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, p. 194.

4. Despatches from England, ~~1722~~ 1721-24, p. 128, para 64.

5. He was the Governor of Fort St. George from 1721-24

6. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, p. 194

dissatisfaction that the English had been very tardy in showing any mark of friendship and insisted that to make any compromise effective the Governor should send a member of his council to his court.[1] This message of the Nawab was brought to the English governor by a French doctor MM Jean Baptiste de St. Hilaire.[2] Elwick recalled the Nawab's attention to the ill-treatment afforded to his deputation and remonstrated that far from being unfriendly, everything pointed out to the design "yourself had of violating our friendship." He refused to be threatened into any form of submission and concluded: " I return your Excellency thanks for the care you seem to take of my Effects. They are under the protection of my Guns, and if you will endeavour to take them from me, you alone are accountable for the Consequences, whatever they may be. I think myself well able to maintain them, and I believe a Rupture between us will be more pernicious to your Excellency than to me."[3]

Elwick's exhibition of bold front had its effect. The Nawab had hardly expected the rebuff. He expressed his desire to receive the presents of the English.[4] This showed that the Nawab was well-inclined. Messrs Hubbard[4] and Houghton[5] were selected to be the bearers of the gifts which amounted to about 8000 pagodas.[6] The envoys were well received, and peace was again restored.

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1. The Nawab's letter d/ 1-51723 to Governor Elwick - Ibid p. 195
2. A French Physician to the Governor of Vellore the nephew of Nawab Sadat-ulla-Khan by name Bakhr-Ali-Khan. He was well-known for his services to the Christian missionaries in the hour of their trial.
3. Letter d/1-5-1723 from Governor Elwick to Nawab Sadat-ulla-khan. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, p. 195.
4. James Hubbard. A writer in the East India Company.
5. Joseph Houghten, A Junior merchant in the East India Co.
6. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, p. 195.

For about two years after the fall of Jinjee the Carnatic remained apparently at peace. This is asserted by the fact that there is a comparative dearth of historical material for the period, which argues either that the country was at peace leaving nothing worth-while putting on record or that the preceding Nawabs had accomplished everything leaving nothing that could be done by their successor. The peaceful atmosphere was however disturbed in 1723-24 when we have on record three incidents - the arrival of Nizam-ul-mulk in the Deccan, the invasion of Mysore by the Nawab and finally the battle between the two Muslim chiefs round about Jinjee and the reoccupation of that fort by the Nawab.

We shall consider the first of these three incidents first. Chin Kulich Khan, better known as Nizam-ul-mulk, was the son of Gazi-ud-din, a notable figure at the court of Delhi. Nizam-ul-mulk made himself famous early in the Deccan wars, and when Farrukh Siyar succeeded Jehander Shah, he was appointed the Viceroy of the Deccan in place of Zulfikar Khan. Hardly had he remained in the Deccan for a year, when he was transferred to Moradabad, Syed Hussain Ally Khan being appointed viceroy in his place. In 1719 on the deposition of Firuk Siyar, Nizam-ul-mulk obtained the additional grant of the province of Malwa,[1] but he soon won the displeasure of the Syed brothers, Hussein Ali Khan and Abdulla Khan,[2] who determined to retransfer him to the province of the Deccan. Enraged at this attitude of the Syeds Nizam-ul-mulk resolved to seek an independent kingdom of his own in the Deccan.

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1. Ferishta, (Scott), II, p. 172.

2. Ibid

Starting from Malwa, he crossed the Nurbudda and won a victory over the forces ~~of Dila-war~~ Dillawer Ali Khan, deputed by the Sayeds to stop his progess to Aurangabad.[1] Yet another victory at Bellapore[2] left him without a ~~rival~~ rival in the Deccan. At Delhi events had, in the mean time, taken a sudden turn. The Sayeds' power was broken by the murder of Hussain Alli Khan, and Muhammad Shah established himself at Delhi. The Nizam, on the other hand, had summoned all the Nawabs of the country to give an account of their management, and it was rumoured that he meditated to proceed towards Jinjee.[3] The self-constituted viceroy of the Deccan was soon after confirmed in his Government i.e. in 1721.[4] A year later, having apparently subdued all the Nawabs of the Carnatic to his authority, he proceeded to Delhi and was created the vazir of the Empire.[5] In 1724, disliking the luxurious manner of the court, he resigned his office, resolving to repair to his government of the Deccan where he could be independent.[6] Towards the middle of June 1724 it appeared that he arrived near Aurangabad. The Nawabs of the country fearing that their own independence would be prejudiced, joined in a confederacy against him. Sadat-ulla-Khan was one of the confederates, his general being one Galib Khan. The confede---

1. Ferishta (Scott), II, P. 173
2. Ibid., p. 174
3. Madras Diary 21-3-1721: Wheeler, Madras in Olden Times, II, p.345
4. Ferishta (Scott), II, p.183
5. Ibid., p.187
6. Ibid., p.188

confederates were severely defeated and most of the generals killed.[1] Henceforth, the Nizam's power remained supreme which proportionately reduced the power of the Nawab of the Carnatic.

Apart from his authority being undermined by the growing power of the viceroy of the Deccan, the independent appointment of one Ameer Khan to the government of Carnatic Bijapur which formed upto 1717 the charge of the Nawab of the Carnatic, further weakened Nawab Sadat-ulla-khan's authority. To Ameer Khan belonged the revenues of Mysore, which consequently depleted the resources of the Nawab. Aware of the riches of Seringapatam and jealous of the dismemberment of his command, the Nawab entered into a secret pact in 1723-24 between the Pathan Nawabs of Savanore, Kurnool and Kurpa[2] and the Mahratta chiefs of Gooti. Ameerkhan, exasperated by this unwanton interference, determined to assert his right, but the address of Sadat-ulla-Khan won him over to a joint operation against Mysore. The forces of Mysore too much intimidated to dare resistance, offered to buy over the marauders by a very liberal offering of a crore of rupees of which 40 lacs was the share of Sadat-ulla-khan, a proportion much more than that obtained by the other allies.[3] Soon after the expedition the Nawab returned to Arcot.

This double diversion of the Nawab's attention caused a petty revolt round about Jinjee. Jinjee had since the Nawab's

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1. Madras Diary 1-7-172 4 ; Wheeler, Madras in Olden Times, II, p. 374
2. Modern Cuddapah.
3. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 228

conquest became a sort of feudatory principality which, however, did not fail to attract petty chiefs who believed the place to be a nucleus for the establishment of an independent kingdom. Two chiefs by name Abdul Naby Khan of Porto Novo and Tahir Khan of Tripassore, near Tiruvellore, fought a very bloody battle in 1724 in which both were killed with neither side having a distinct advantage over the other.[1] The Nawab marched out against Jinjee and occupied the place a second time.[2]

The Nawab appears to have entertained a certain degree of tolerance for the Christian missionaries, who came in for a good deal of attention during this period. In July of the year 1715 Fr. Emanuel Michado was arrested and thrown into a dungeon by the king of Tanjore.* Every effort was made by the superiors of the mission to obtain the release of the unfortunate father, but no sufficient funds were to be had to effect the purpose. It was believed that the best method would be to approach the Nawab who was at that time at Devanahalli in Mysore. Not finding it practicable to approach such a noble personage, the head of the mission by name Fr, De La Fontaine had recourse to M. de Saint Hilaire, a French physician to Bakhr Alli Khan of Vellore.[3] Through the intermediary of the physician the necessary letters of recommendation were obtained, which, when

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1. Madras Diary 16-7-1724 :Wheeler, Madras in Olden Times, II, p. 375
2. C.S. Srinivasachari, The History of Jinjee, p. 18
3. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VII, p. 201

COLONIAL BOND
MADE IN NORWAY

carried to the Nawab at Divanhalli, the latter wrote to the Raja of Tanjore to put a stop to the persecution of missionaries. But the letter of the Nawab had produced no effect.[1] About the same time that Fr. Michado was awaiting his doom in the dungeons of Tanjore, the missionary activities in the whole region of Mysore ~~was~~ were in fear of a serious set back on account of the ill-treatment afforded to the Christians by the Raja of Serngapatam.

But the fall of the mission was to be presented at a ny ris k. Fr. De la Fontaine returned to Vellore, consulted Dr. St. Hilaire, and himself paid a visit to the Nawab at Divanhalli. He was received with every mark of distinction a nd after two days he left with the necessary letters from the Nawab.[2] The visit to the Nawab was not without any success, as much as the Christians were allowed to retain their possessions in the country.

In the meanwhile the condition of Fr. Michado in the prison of Tanjore was none too happy. Neither the fear of the Nawab's displeasure nor the petitions of the missionaries could persuade the Raja t o set free the priest. Once again the Father approached the Nawab, but considering the scant attention paid to his former letters, the latter refused to address any more letters, as it was not dignifying to his name. Finally, however, Bakhr Ali insisted so much that the Nawab was prevailed upon to address once more to the Raja.[3] The letter was

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1. Ibid., VII, pp. 202-03.
2. Ibid., p. 205
3. Ibid., p. 208.

carried by a brahmin and a Mahamadan soldier accompanied by Fr. Dominique Aubert[1] of the Carnatic mission, but the letter was given scant recognition by the Raja.

In 1717, the Nawab was on the borders of Tanjore to raise the tribute as he did nearly every year. At the time M. de Saint Hilaire also accompanied him with a view to secure the favours of influential persons about the Nawab and with the special motive of securing the release of the imprisoned priest. Fortunately, at this juncture, the prime-minister of the king of Tanjore by name Candoji Vichitram happened to be in the camp of the Nawab on whom the pressure was brought to secure his good offices. The object was finally gained on 6-6-1717 when the release of the ill-fated father was obtained, which ~~release~~ was, ofcourse, mainly ascribable to the good graces and the kind intervention of the Nawab.

The mission at Mysore was not in an altogether happy position. The troubles with the people of Mysore caused many an anxious day and it was thought that the mission should put itself under the protection of the Nawab at Arcot. The Nawab allowed them the use of his own standard and granted them an honourable patent conferring them in their possession.[2] The patent which is fortunately extant runs thus:" Sadoutoulla Can Nabob a tous les Fosdars, Rajas, Quelidars, Palecand long et autres ordres. Les Saniassis romains ont des eglises dans

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1. He was born on 25-8-1676. He landed at Pondicherry on 4-8-1709 and died at Tranquebar where he retired during the siege of Pondicherry in 1761.

2. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VII, p. 213.

le pays de Carnatc, ou ils sont obliges de voyager pour instruire leur disciples. Ce sont des ~~perutens~~ heritents qui font professions d'enseigner la verite et dont la probite est connue. Nous les considerons et nous les affectionnons; c'est pourquoi notre volonté est qu'eux et leurs disciples soient traités partout favorablement sans qu'on leur fasse aucune peine. Tel est l'ordre que nous donnons."[1]

The Nawab's help to the Jesuits was to a great ~~xtxnt~~ extent responsible for the continuance of the missionary activities in Southeren India. But for this assistance, it is more than probable, that ~~there~~ their existence would have been seriously endangered by the furious persecution of the Hindu princes of the South, who always looked upon them as enemies of their religion.[2] The attitude of the Nawab is highly laudable as it revealed the tolerant character of his government in the days when the religious ideas were the narrow-minded dogmas of each particular caste or creed.

At this stage it will be worthwhile examining the efforts of the French, who ~~had~~ at this period played an important role in the Carnatic.[3] La Campagnie des Indes Orientales was established in 1664. After some eventful struggles, which lasted for about a decade , they were driven out from St. Thome and ~~Mussilepatam~~ masulipatam , when they emigrated and established a small town on a small territory North of the Coleroon called Pondicherry , under the able guidance of Francois Martin.[4] Pondicherry

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1. Ibid., p. 407.
2. Ibid., p. 473.
3. Malleson, History of the French in India, p. 72
4. Ibid., p. 22

thrived till 1693[1] when the Dutch seized it, which they held till the peace of Ryswick till 1697 when it was restored to the French. The importance of the city grew up till 1706 when Martin died. Under his successors Messrs Dullivier and Herbert the line of decline set in.[2] However, the relations between the French and the native powers remained peaceful. There does not appear anything on record of outstanding importance except a few incidents which may not fail to interest our readers as they are thickly connected with the history of Nawab Sadat-ulla-Khan. The question of having their own coinage had always been of immense importance to the European Companies from the time they established their commerce. Before the right of coinage was established, the Companies sent gold and silver ingots to be struck into the coins of the place[3], the native Nawabs levying 6% to 8% as mintage charge. In 1715, the French Company made suggestion to the Nawab to allow them to strike their own coin[4], which suggestion was pressed to a definite proposition in 1718.

But the attempts were not successful as the Nawab was not inclined to forego the assured income of mintage charges, and the French offered seemed inadequate, which did not exceed ₹ 25,000/- Similar efforts were however made in 1724 and 1727, but they were

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1. Ibid., p. 33

2. "M. Dulivier succeeded Martin in January 1707 but continued as a governor till the arrival of Chevalier Hebart in 1708. Hebart administered the affairs of the colony till Oct. 1713 when Dulivier resumed the charge. He held the office till Aug. 19,1718, when he was again succeeded by Hebart." Ibid., p.41 note.

3. Martineau, Dupleix et l'Inde Francaise, I, p. 403.

4. Ibid., 404.

equally unproductive of any result.[1]

Apart from the question of coinage, the Nawab's relations with the French were of a stagnantly of peaceful nature. The Company offered presents to the Nawab from time to time to maintain the cordial relations and we have on record that in 1716 Sadat-ulla-Khan was so pleased with the French Governor that he conceded to the Company the village of Oulougaret (?), a little to the west of Pondicherry.[2]

The reign of Sadat-ulla-Khan ended in 1732. In July of the same year his wife also died. On the occasion of her death, the French and the English Companies sent messages of condolence to the Nawab[3]. The Nawab's reply to the English message of condolence is so expressive of the characteristics of the times and of his own character that we can hardly refrain from quoting it in extenso:

"I received your letter of condolence which you sent me in confirmation of our established friendship. Certainly that which afflicts me must also be very near to you, we must all submit to the will of the Great God which alone supports me under so great a loss.

"Your present of two pieces of Broad Cloth and six flasks of rose water I have Received and Esteem it a great Mark of your Friendship.

"I have sent through means of Imaum Saib orders to the

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1. Martineau, Dupleix et L'Inde Francaise, I, p. 404.
2. Colin de Bar, Histoire de l'Inde, II, p. 16.
3. Appendix. p.64.

severall Hamildars of Towns where you provide your goods , to give all the liberty possible to serve you only and not permitt of any hindrance whatever, What can I say more"[1]

The death of his wife told very heavily on the Nawab's health, The grief was too much for him to sustain although he realised that "the Will of the Great God be done" He died in the evening of the 8th october.[2] 1732, much lamented by his subjects. His tomb lies between the palace and the fort of Arcot on the south bank of the river Palaar, with the Jama Masjid[3] close by. The tomb was built from handsome green stones which were taken from the forest temples erected[4] in the bed of the river Palaar by the Chola Rajas.

All accounts agree in naming Sadat-ulla-khan as a very enlightened nobleman of the period. He was no doubt a despotic ruler, but his rule was a benevolent despotism.[5] During his term of office the country remained mostly at peace. His force at any moment was restricted to 500 horse[6], which, far from being a sign of weakness, displayed the peaceful charcter of his rule. His power extended to the governments of Seringapatam, Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and Ramnad, each under a ruler.[7] It is said that he had under him in all 54 killedars with all of whom

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1. Appendix p. 65.
2. Appendix, ~~II~~
3. Sewell, Lists of Antiquities, Madras, I, p. 165
4. Ibid., p. 161
5. Wheeler, Early records of British India, p. 134
6. Manual of North Arcot District ~~by A.F. Cox~~, (revised by H. A. Stuart,) I, (1895), p. 48. box?
7. Pillai, Raja Desing of Ginjee, Journal of Indian History , IX, p. 22.

he remained on good terms.[1]

Lack of any co-ordinating force at Delhi brought about the ruin of the Imperial family and made the Capital a hot-bed of intrigues and treasons, and every official wrangled for the spoils to carve out an independent domain for himself. Nizam-ul-Mulk made himself independent in the Deccan and formed the Nizam Dynasty.[2] Following his example, Sadat-ullau Khan made a similar bid for independence and succeeded in his motive as we see that after his death he left the government of the Carnatic to his nephew Dost-Ali-Khanm who occupied the vacant musnud.[3] Thus was the first regular line of the Nawabs established which remained in power for well-nigh half a century.

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1. Ibid.
2. 1724.
3. Orme, A History of the Military Transactions, I, p.37.

CHAPTER. V

Dost Ali Khan.

Sadat-ulla Khan died in 1732 out of grief for the loss of his wife. He had no children to succeed; but had adopted two sons of his brother by name Gulam Ali Khan who was the jagirdar of Vellore. For the eldest of the two sons, Dost Ali Khan was designed the Karnatic gadi;while the second Bakr Ali Khan was to succeed his father in the government of Vellore. This attempt on the part of the late Nawab to make the office hereditary would suggest a novel experiment, for hitherto the rulers of the Karnatic had invariably obtained office by selection. The establishment for the first time of the Nawabs of the Karnatic under such suspicious circumstances has been characterised by certain writers as nothing short of usurpation. The validity of the appointment of Nawab Dost Ali Khan has been questioned on the ground that these dispositions were made without deference to the will of the viceroy of Deccan, Nizam-ul-mulk and that his appointment was not confirmed by the Emperor. Orme tells us that although the arrangement made by Sadat-ulla-Khan was effected without any opposition, the Subah of the Deccan beheld " the accension of Dost Ali Khan with aversion, since it took effect without that deference to his authority, which he was determined to establish throughout all the governments under his jurisdiction,"[1] and that " the jealousy of this powerful superior " also prevented the new nawab from obtaining his confirmation from Delhi.[2] He however states that the nawab had obtained certain letters from

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1. Orme, A History of the Military Transactions, II, p.37.
2. Ibid.

Delhi which were mere " letters of approbation from the vizir, without the proper forms of an authentic commission."[1] Orme is not the only historian to question the legality of the new Nawab's claims. Grose and H. Castonet Des Fosses appear to hold similar views.[2] But the Records of Fort St.George are clear on the subject. Madras Diary dated 8th January 1733[3] states definitely that Dost Ali Khan was appointed the Nawab of the Carnatic with Gulam Ali Khan[4] as his Diwan by direction of the Nizam of the Deccan. The same Diary on the 13th January 1733 records a firman sent from the Imperial Court at Delhi establishing Dost Ali Khan in his government.[5]

The reign of Dost Ali Khan is remarkable for the aggressive policy his government adopted. Personally the Nawab, however, took little interest in the actual management of affairs, which were left mostly in the hands of his sons and ministers. He had two sons, Safdar Ali Khan and Hussein Ali who were arrived at man's estate. Of his daughters one was married to Murtaza Ali Khan, the son of Bakhr Ali Khan of Velore, another to Taqui Saheb of Wandivash, a near relative of the Nawab and the third to a more distant kinsman by name Chanda Saheb who, although the least favoured of fortune was a man of talents and military ardour, of enterprising spirit and astute ~~understanding~~.

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1. Ibid.

2. Grose, A Voyage to the East Indies, II, p.viii ; and H.Castonet Des Fosses, La Inde Francaise avant Dupleix, p.237.
3. Appendix, p.66.
4. Gulam Ali Khan alias Gulam Hussain was the nephew of the late nawab Sadat-ulla-khan's wife.

5. Madras Diary and Consul.Book dated 13-1-1733: " This Phirmand granted by me Mahamd Shah Patshaw Gauzee to Ally Doost Cawn my cou(s)ad you may observe I have a great favour towards you, I am very sorry for the Death of Sadatulah Cawn Bahauder, you are now in the Room of

understanding.[1] The second son remained mostly with thw father; although towards the latter part of the reign he was apparently entrusted with the government of the places round about Fort St. David.[2]

The first two years of the reign were presumably devoted by the Nawab to a proper adjustment of his position especially in the light of the contemporary situation of the country. Within three years of his rule however, perhaps on account of advanced age, he was unwilling to take the responsibilities of government, which, in the nature ofcourse, devolved upon his eldest son. The Nawab devoted himself to a life of piety, assuming the role of a religious recluse. His reluctance to exercise his authority made the position of Safdar Ali uniquely powerful.[3] But Safdar Ali Khan met his rival in Chanda Sahib who at that time was making a bold bid for authority and power. Apart from his being the son-in-law of the Nawab, he made himself stronger by ~~cementing~~ arranging a marriage alliance between his daughter and Gulam Ali Khan, the Diwan of the Nawab.[4] Under the pretence of aiding his son-in-law, Chunda Sahib obtained the chief direction of the state affairs and atlast induced the Nawab to appoint him as his Diwan in place of Gulam Ali Khan.[5] To all observers, it had become clear, even at this

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X. late Nabob to look after the king's affairs with the Greatness faithfullness, diligence and Honour that nothing may happen contrary to the Method that the Old Nabob used, Lose none of his good Rules and Maxims by which You will get a good name among my faithful servants. I Reckon you amongthem and have sent you a serapah and a Serpanche set with stones by my Gasbardas which you must receive with great respect and go out to meet it and then wear it yourself. See that you always Obey my Will" Appendix, p 67.

1. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p.248; Orme, a History OF Military Transactions, I, p. 37.
2. Letter From Fort St. George of 5-2-1740. Appendix p.9.
3. Madras Diary 7-7-1735- Appendix. p.70.
4. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p.248; also Orme, A History of Military Transactions, I, p. 38.
5. Grose, A voyage to the East Indies, II, p. viii.

early stage that the struggle for supremacy lay between these two ambitious young princes. Mutual feelings of jealousy with which they regarded each other sometimes occasioned open rupture, ~~it~~ and on one such occasion, it is said, the Nawab himself was compelled to fly for safety from Arcot.[1]

The most consequential event of the reign of ~~the~~ Nawab Sadat-ulla-khan was his interference in the affairs of Madura, relating to the succession upon the Naik dying without an heir. Authorities differ as to the exact date ~~and consequently the~~ as well as the details of the event, ~~differ according to the different authorities.~~ There is only one point on which they agree and that is the final result, namely, the overthrow and subjugation of the Naik kingdoms of Madura and Trichinopoly by the Nawab's forces. Vijaya Ranga Krishna Muttu Vira Sokkanathen Nayer[2] of Madura died in 1732. He had no children but in conformity to his own desire the first of his eight wives, by name Minakshi, succeeded him to the Government.[3] The queen's succession was followed by a dispute with a prince of royal blood. Venkataraya Acharee, the commander-in-chief of the army and first minister of the state, supported the pretensions of a collateral male heir, Tirumal Nayakar,[4] "a descendant in the direct line of a younger son of Tirumalai Nayakar" and raised the standard of revolt. A treason

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1. Madras Diary and Consultation Book of 7-7-1735:Appendix p.71.

2. Annual letter d/1-8-1733 from the Society of Jesus - Rev. Besse, Fr. Bechi, p. 123. This king is generally spoken of as Vijayaranga Chokkanatha.Aiyanger (History of the Nayaks of Madura) puts this event to 1734, but he is wrong.

3. Ibid., The desire was it is alleged communicated by him to his first minister. See Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 249.

4. Ibid. Also, S. Iyer, K. Aiyangar, History of the Nayaks of Madura, p. 232.

was soon afoot. The rebels entered the fortress and were very near killing the queen when the plot was discovered and the rebels were repulsed after a sharp and short struggle.[1] The seeming submission of the commander-in-chief produced a reconciliation and the queen was secured once more in the quiet possession of her kingdom.

It was at this period of Madura history that the forces of the Nawab appear on the scene. What made the Nawab's son Safdar Ali interfere in the affairs of Madura is a matter of conjecture. Wilks would have us believe that while the question of the succession to the throne of Madura was under decision, the Nawab was eager to take stock of the opportunity, but was deterred from taking any overt step as he was but newly established on the Nawabship. However, he was induced to send an army under Safdar Ali and Chanda Sahib, ostensibly for the purpose of collecting the revenue, but really with the object of succouring the queen of Trichinopoly , who, made desperate by the factional opposition against her rule, solicited his help. Orme on the other hand suggests that "the confusion in Madura was sufficient to give the Nawab hopes of subjecting the kingdom to his authority,"[2] and this was what prompted him to send a large army to seize an opportunity that might offer of getting possession of Trichinopoly. But the army had instructions to move leisurely, so as to avoid any

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1. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 249

2. Ibid.

suspicion.[1] Yet another and altogether different and seemingly absurd motive that has been put forth is that the Nawab wished to found separate kingdoms for his eldest son Safdar Ali Khan and Chanda Sahib which motive prompted ~~the Nawab~~ him to carry the war into the kingdoms of Trichinopoly, Madura, Tanjore, Mysore, and the Maravas.[2] In the midst of these conflicting views it is very difficult to point out the true cause, but we might conjecture that no particular motive brought the Nawab's army ~~into~~ to the South except the yearly collection of tributes from the independent states further south, and that Trichinopoly fell into his hands through sheer chance or luck. Our contention is strengthened by the annual Jesuit letter of 1-8-1733 which shows that the sons of the Nawab were occupied with the invasion of Tanjore, where they had come with the object of receiving "a sum of money as the tribute ~~one~~ due from the Raja of Tanjore," and it was at that time that perhaps a solicitation for succour was received from Trichinopoly. As an independent Mahratta principality, Tanjore was under the Nawab to whom the Raja paid an annual tribute but it did not seldom happen that these were witheld till exacted at the point of the sword. There is therefore little wonder, if in 1731-1733 a similar invasion of Tanjore took place. The Nawab's forces, says the Jesuit writer " began by laying waste the fertile country of Salamandalam;by killing, plundering and outraging women;and obtained what they desired namely the payment of a large indemnity from the royal exhequer."[3] If we agree that the invasion of Tanjore did take place, and that the Nawab was satisfied with the receipt

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1. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.38. Orme here creates needless confusion. His date for the event is 1736. In 1736 happened the second invasion of Trichinopoly. He seems consequently to refer to the second rather than the first invasion. We ought therefore to treat his authority as useless for our purpose at this juncture.
2. Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p.178; also, Abbe Guyon, Histoire Des Indes Orientales, III, p.278.
3. Annual Letter dated 1.8.1733 from the Society of Jesus: Besse, Fr. Beschi p.121; also, Nelson, Madura Manual, p.256.

of his arrears of tribute, we must also agree that the Southward march of the Nawab's forces was not undertaken with the sinister object of usurping neighbouring kingdoms. There is also no reason to believe that after Tanjore, Trichinopoly would have been the next to to have engaged the attention of the Nawab's ~~forces~~ sons. We might ~~therefore~~ therefore hazard that a matter of chance dragged Safdar Ali to Trichinopoly and it would have been a ltogether impolitic on his part to have lost such a golden opportunity.

We do not exactly know who invited the Muhammadan forces to Trichinopoly. It seems however ~~remains without doubt~~ that the person guilty of the crime of inviting this foreign nation was the queen. The party of Bangaru Tirumala[1] and the Commander-in-chief Venkatarayya Achar[1a] had seemingly submitted to the rule of the Ranee, but with the secret aid of the Raja of Tanjore, they organized so powerful a following that the Ranee thought her best safety lay in calling in the aid of Nawab's forces.[2] Two jesuit letters of 1733 and 1734[3] corroborate the view that the Rance requisitioned the help of the Mogals.[4]

Be it what it may, when the Nawab's forces approached Trichinopoly, ostensibly to upheld the queen's power, Bangaru Tirumala bribed Safdar Ali with an enormous sum to champion his cause.

1a. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 249

2. Annual letter d/ 1-8-1733 from the Society of Jesus: Rev. Besse, Fr. Beschi, p. 125. The price paid was "a great sum of money"

3. Annual letter for the year 1734 - Appendix, p. 141.

4. Nelson and the authors of The History of the Nayaks of Madura differ from the general concesus of opinion and think that it was Bangaru Tirumala who was responsible for the crime of bringing about upon Madura the forces of the Nawab at a price of 30 lacs of rupees. See Nelson, Madura Manual, p. 256 and Iyer - Iyengar History of the Nayaks of Madura, p. 256

15. The same as Tirumala Nayaker.

The offer was indeed to his liking but if the cause of Tirumala was championed, it would be difficult for his forces to gain an entrance into the fortress. Not thinking it advisable to force his way through, Safdar Ali struck upon an ingenious plan. He issued a manifesto taking upon himself the right of deciding the question at issue. He summoned both the sides to submit their cases, and to add weight to his decision he invited all the pandits of the kingdom to help in on the law side. It was purely a sham commission and the queen was wise enough to understand the implications, and discreetly decided to take no part. The decision naturally enough went in favour of Bangaru Tirumala, who promised to pay the Nawab a tribute of 30 lacs . Safdar Ali having thus settled the business, quitted the place entrusting the more difficult part that of executing the award to Chanda Sahib.[1]

Seemingly alarmed at the turn the affairs were taking, Minakshi approached Chanda Sahib who "showed himself to be so little troubled with scruples of honour and conscience" that he agreed to break his contract with Tirumala Nayakar on receipt of a crore of rupees from the queen; but induced the latter to admit him into the fort promising not to act in anything to her detriment. However, relying very little on the words of Chanda Sahib, the queen induced him to take an oath on the bank of the river Kauveri that he would do no

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1. Madura Manual, p. 257 Taylor O.H. Mss, II, p. 232-33 S. Iyer and K. Aiyangar, History of the Nayaks of Madura, p. 233 and V. Rangachari, 'The History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura', The Indian Antiquary, 1917, p. 218.

harm to her interests. Having taken the oath Chanda Sahib secured an entrance to the fort.[1]

Minakshi held her position on the understanding that she was acting as regent to her adopted son,[2] the child of Bangaru Tirumala Nayakar. There is ground to suspect that Chanda Sahib's aim, at this stage, was to usurp the kingdom of Trichinopoly if he could effect it without arousing the jealousy of Safdar Ali and the wrath of the Nawab. We might further suspect him as acting under an impulse of treachery to the Nawab with a view to establish an independent kingdom for himself. To secure his aim he cared very little of what means he adopted. He tried to cajole the Ranee into the belief that it was in her interest that Bangaru Tirumala should be destroyed. The latter had very magnanimously been removed, in the interim, by the queen to govern Dindigul and Madura and to have in his keeping her son and her ward, the future Raja of Trichinopoly.[3]

Minakshi, however, refused to comply,[4] for upon the safety of the child depended her own right to continue as regent and Chanda Sahib did not think it proper to press upon her his will, as this would have revealed too well his sinister designs to the Nawab, while the existence of Bangaru Tirumala was a security for the furtherence of his own secret plans.

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1. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 250 ;also, Taylor, on O.H. MSS., II, p. 233. Wilks states that the oath was taken on a false Koran which was really a piece of brick with the cover of a Koran. The assertion is unsupported by any historian and is at best a mere romantic touch to heighten the effects of an historical fact.

2. The name of the child was Vijayakumara

3. V. Rangachari, The History of the Nayak kingdom of Madura, The Indian Antiquary, 1917, p. 238

4. Ibid. Also, Nelson, Madura Manual, p. 258.

Having failed temporarily in his plans of the conquest of the Madura kingdom Chanda Sa hib induced the queen t o lend him support against Tanjore, which place he thought of putting to ~~tribute~~ tribute once more. The queen apparently acquiesced in, actuated by feelings of revenge against the Raja of Tanjore who had only recently joined hands a gainst her enemy to undermine her power. "The combined armies of Madura and the Moghul invaded the Tanjore kingdom. The Tanjore king[1] mobilised his army under the command of his ~~generalisation~~- generalissimo the Brahman[2] who was waging war with the petty chief called the Tondeman. This man, though he was more than eighty years old, attacked the Mughal army with remarkable intrepidity. He dug trenches a nd encamping within them, he offered a stout resistance to the persistent efforts of the enemy to march towards the capital, often taking his force by surprise at night. The Mughal general , unable to brooke such audacity, made a sudden sally with all his army and attacked the Tanjorine. The Brahman general did not expect such a thing. None the less he marshalled his army, mounted his elephants and marched on to meet the Mughals. This general soon received three wounds and actuated by the principle that 'he who fights and runs away, lives to fight another day,' dismounted the elephant and fled towards Tanjore on horseback. His army imitating his example took to flight. The retreating Tanjore army was pursued by the Mughals

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1. The king of Tanjore was Tukkoji (1729 - 1736)

2. The Brahmin generalissimo was in all probability Anandarayamakhin, the minister and general of the Tanjore forces. The letter that we have quoted names him as Anandran and this identifies the person.

who killed and captured many of the Tanjorines. The booty obtained at the camp was immense and consisted of elephants, horses and money."[1] Soon after Chanda Sahib retraced his steps to Arcot, on his way devastating the country in every direction, spreading everywhere destruction and ruin.[2]

It is not possible to gauge exactly how far the Nawab's conquests extended. While Chanda Sahib was engaged in Trichinopoly and Madura, Safdar Ali did not evidently return at once to Arcot. It is more than probable that he continued his depradations to the South till about the end of the year 1734. Unfortunately no records exist to assert these facts but Sewell speaks of him as ravaging the whole country "as well as Tanjore, Travancore and the Western coast."[3]

It has already been observed that the Nawab was not particularly interested in the government of his country, and there is, therefore, very little surprise if we find nothing recorded about his own activities, at the time when his army was occupied in the South. He remained presumably without any activity at Arcot managing the country with the help of his ministers. He was also not like his predecessors very particular about the presents and tributes from the European settlements. The English and the French, unconscious of their strength, were allowed quietly to carry on their trade as without any disturbance, so much so, that though the English

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1. Annual letter of the Madura Mission of the year 1734, Appendix p. 141.
2. Ibid.
3. Sewell, Lists of Antiquities, Madras, II, p. 203.

~~offered-very-liberal-presents-~~

procrastinated the sending of customary presents at the accession of the Nawab for three years[1], it did not evoke in the least the Nawab's resentment. However in 1735, the Dutch, the English and the French offered very liberal presents,[2] which the Nawab accepted.

The army returned from the South towards the end of 1734 or the beginning of 1735. Both Chanda Sahib and Safdar Ali proceeded to Arcot, where they remained with the Nawab till October 1735. Perhaps it was during the stay at Arcot that Chanda Sahib dwelt upon the necessity of putting an end to the Naik kingdom of Madura and convince the Nawab of the ease with which this could be effected, to which perhaps the Nawab gave his consent. On the 12th October 1735 both Chanda Sahib and Safdar Ali arrived at St. Thome[3] on their way to Trichinopoly. At St. Thome Safdar Ali was lodged at one Mr. Louis de Madeiro's house"half a mile of the town" and the troops then amounted to not more than 1,500 horse and 5,000 troops. What exactly made the army halt at St. Thome is a matter of conjecture, but the intention was perhaps to receive attention from the English at Madras. The visit was any way friendly, the Nawab's son and other officers "behaved with a politeness and exactness very remarkable"The English Company was at the time put to an expense of Pagodas 1936, 18 fanams and 50 cents.[4] The army did not

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1. Madras Diary 7-7-1735. Madras Diary and Consultation Book, 1735. Appendix p.139.

2. Ibid. The English presents to the Nawab and his family amounted to 1,651 ~~fa~~ pagodas and 24 fanams.

3. Madras Diary 11-10-1735. Diary and Consultation Book, 1735, Appendix,, p.72.

4. General letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/13-1-1736. Despatches to England, 1736-4 0, Appendix p.21.

stay long at St. Thome, but proceeded on their march with 10,000 horse[1] and 20,000 foot, carrying with them 30 candies[2] of powder. It is said that Minakshi of Trichinopoly offered 11 million pagodas[3] to stave off the attack, but if it was so the amount was not considered sufficient.

Early in 1736, the army arrived at Trichinopoly. After the necessary preparations the place was invested on 6-3-1736 and carried by assault on the 26th of the following month.[4] "The whole town was plundered and delivered over to the fury of the soldiery. The unfortunate inhabitants looked to heavens for their deliverance. The temples were robbed of the statues and the precious objects"[5] The generals, Chanda Sahib and Safdar Ali next turned their attention towards the conquest of Dindigul and Madura. An army of 8,000 cavalry and some infantry was sent under two of the queen's adherents by name Govindaiya and Ravanaiya against Dindigul. The latter place was captured and the army marched on to Madura. Bangaru Tirumala Nayakar offered a battle at Annaiyanayakanur Palayam, but was

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1. Ibid. Un lettre D'un Missionnaire des Indes, a M...., ou Memoire sur les dernieres guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, estimates the force at 25 to 30,000 horse. Lettres edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p. 178. Abbe Guyon states the cavalry to be 25 to 30,000 but supported by an infantry of an equal number. See Abbe Guyon, Histoires des Indes Orientales, III, p. 278.

2. Khandi - 20 maunds or 560 lbs.

3. General letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/13-1-1736. Despatches to England 1736-40 Appendix p.22

4. Lettre D'Un Missionaire des Indes a M..., ou Memoire sur les dernieres guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, See Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p. 178.

5. Annual letter from the Society of Jesus dated Travancore, 1-5-1739 quoted by Rev Besse, Fr. Beschi, p. 149. From the Jesuit sources it appears that Trichinopoly did not surrender without a struggle. According to Iyer Aiyangar (The History

History

defea ted and fled to Sivaganga.[1] The whole country was overrun by the nawab's troops and speedily reduced to total submission.[2]

The queen had been in the meanwhile a virtual prisoner in her own palace. She was treated with humiliation and insult. Every accident betrayed the impotency of her party and the turbulent temper of her guards. Life became intolerable to her. " The loss of crown and freedom, the pressure of remorse and the poignancy of grief, prepared her for removal from this world, and the last Hindu sovereign of Trichinopoly died broken hea rted by her own hands"[3] in 1736.[4] The death of the queen was the op portunity of Bangaru Tirumala to strike one more blow for his lost kingdom, depending upon the paty at Trichinopoly; but he suffered the opportunity to slip away unheeded, or perhaps, he lacked courage and character to do so, with the result that the

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of the Nayaks of Madura, p.233), V.Rangachari (The History of the Naik kingdom of Madura, The Indian Antiquary, 1917, p.238), Nelson (Madura Manual, p.259), and Orme (A History of the Military Transactions, I, p.38) no resistance whatsoever was offered but the Ranee was prevailed upon somehow or other to fling open the gates and welcome the enemy with open arms. If this was so, it was this time the fly inviting the spider to walk into her parlour to her own doom

1. V. Rangachari, The History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura, The Indian Antiquary, 1917, p.239. Another version, that of the Telugu Chronicle (Ibid) is that Dindigul and Madura were attacked by the Nawab's nephew in person. I do not however, accept this second version only for the reason that Trichinopoly had been but recently acquired and the fear of a counter-revolutionary movement persisted so that it would have been unwise to leave the fortress in such circumstances. This version is however, not altogether without the range of possibility.
2. Nelson, Madura Manual, p.259.
3. Rangachari, The History of the Naik kingdom of Madura, The Indian Antiquary, 1917, p.240. Nelson (Madura Manual p.260) states that Chanda Sahib was considering means of getting rid of her when she died of her own accord.- I have not been able to trace the source of Mr. Nelson's information.
4. S.C. Hill, Yusuf Khan, P.26. According to Rangachari 1737.

Nawab's son remained the undisturbed master of Madura kingdom, which he held on behalf of his father, Nawab Dost Ali Khan.

After the war with Madura , the two generals summoned the king of Tanjore, Ekoji II alias Bava Sahib, to account for the arrears of tribute, and they alleged that the king had in other respects offended against the sovereignty of the Nawab. The war was commenced and the army beseiged the capital for three months.[1] Realising, however, that the strength of the beseiged was much more than they anticipated, and finding that their own supplies were depleted, they raised the siege and retreated. It appears that Chanda Sahib was bought off by the Raja of Tanjore. Elated by their recent success, both against the arms of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, the army was pushed northwards against Mysore. "In this expidition of Mysore they spent a great sum of money, lost many men and much reputation."[2] The only acquisition was a few places which had formerly belonged to the Madura kingdom. From Mysore the troops returned once more to Trichinopoly, where they remained undisturbed for some time to come. This lull in the storm affords a good opportunity to take a cursory survey of the total extent of the Nawab's Southern conquests. His army, in short, at this stage had defeated the people of Madura, subdued Tinnevelly and Tanjore, entered

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1. Annual letter of the Society of Jesus of the years 1736 and 1737 - Appendix. p. 143. Also, a letter from Travancore d/1-5-1739 referred to by Rev. Besse, Fr. Beschi, p. 149.

2. Ibid., p. 150. Also, Letters from Fort St. George to the Company d/1-10-1736 and 29-1-1737. Despatches to England, 1736-40, Appendix, p.22.

the provinces of the Malabar princes, who were forced to pay a tribute, and the major part proceeded north to pay a visit to the king of Bednore who was however, prepared to meet the the invaders.[1]

To return to the Nawab. While his son and son-in-law were engaged in a campaign of the spoliation of the neighbouring kingdoms, the Nawab himself left the reins of the government in the hands of his ministers and their agents. A country under the rule of a single despot suffers not as much as the one ruled over by a handful of selfish and unscrupulous men. The Nawab's government was in the essential despotic, but the head of the government was very little interested in the affairs of the state, so that the power graviated into the hands of his ministers, who, mindful of their own interests, sacrificed the greatest good of the greatest number. The land tax went on increasing year after year. In 1734 it was raised by 35% more than the previous year[2], which together with the want of proper irrigation system[3], produced great scarcity. The tillers of the soil, unable to meet with such a heavy strain on their resources, left their homes and country to settle in other places where they could expect better terms. The increase in the land tax had its effect

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1. Letter from the Fort St. George to the Company, d/ 5-10-1737. Ibid. Appendix, p.125.

2. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/2-9-1734. Despatches to England, 1733-35. Appendix. p.20.

3. Little care was taken to see that the tanks and reservoirs of water were kept clean and prevented from getting choked. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company, Ibid., Appendix., p.19.

on the general price of commodities, specially grains, the prices of which rose to enormous extent[1] to the great detriment of the consumers. As if this calamity was insufficient, the rains for 1736-37 failed, resulting in a severe famine all over the country. The inland towns and villages were in the greatest distress. The famine spread its tenackles right along the coast to the north, and the people fled whereever they could get supply, their only resource of relief being probably the well-provisioned European settlements. But " "such a number of mouths to feed only serves to consume it (the food) faster and to hasten the Effects of a famine that we have reason to fear will be more cruel than any we have yet felt."[2] August to October 1737 were the months of greatest dearth. Harrowing scenes were witnessed as could hardly be related. In Arcot alone two to three hundred persons perished in a single day,[3] although Arcot as the capital of the Nawab was supposed to be well provisioned. The same dreadful scenes were witnessed in other towns. "Many villages were deserted, no grain for inhabitants, no herbage or Fodder for cattle, of these last 19 in 20 perished"[4] The misery had become intolerable and even "If God sends a ~~very~~ favourable Monsoon, it is inferd there was not men or Oxen left to Till the ground, the Famine so terrible Men fed upon those things

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1. Letter from Fort St. George to Company d/5-10-1737. Despatches to England 1736-40, Appendix, p.24
2. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/ 29-1-1737. Ibid., Appendix, p.23, 24
3. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/5-10-1737, Ibid., Appendix, p.25.
4. Ibid.

nature most abhors."[1] And yet, while his subjects were undergoing such terrible calamities, the Nawab seemed unmoved to remain peacefully either in his palace at Arcot, or " was taking his diversion on the seashore"[2] at Alamparva[3], where he remained most of the years 1736 and 1737, "very negligent and inattentive to all affairs and ofcouse little regarded"[4] With the army away to the South, and the Nawab absent from his capital, the country lapsed into a condition of the greatest disorders. "There have been frquent Robbeys in the Great Towns as well as in the Roads, and the Exactions of the Havildars have been so vaxcatious and intolerable to the Natives that several towns and villages have been deserted by the Inhabitants."[5] The depopulation of the towns was, without doubt, an outcome of an oppressive government that enhanced the prices, doubled the taxes and in all ways prevented the grains from being carried out of towns lest "it would fall the Price and so disable the Farmers paying their rents trebly raised."[6]

Leaving the rest of the army at Trichinopoly, Safdar Ali started early in March 1737[7] for Arcot. Trichinopoly and

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1. Ibid.

2. Letter from Fort St. George to James Hubbard, Governor of Fort St. David d/ 1-9-1736. - Public Letters from Fort St. George, 1726 and 1736, Appendix, p.7.

3. A sea-port town north of Pondicherry.

4. Letter from Fort St. George to Company d/29-1-1737. Despatches to England 1736-40, Appendix, p.24.

5. Ibid.

6. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/29-8-1738 Ibid., Appendix, p.26

7. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/5-10-1737, Despatches to England 1736-40, Appendix, p.25.

all the Southern conquests were entrusted to Chanda Sahib who now assumed the title of the Nawab of Trichinopoly[1], and ruled the territories confined to his charge in the name of Dost Ali Khan. Safdar Ali arrived at Arcot in April 1737[2] the occasion being marked by presents from the English Company worth 3o4 pagodas and 10 fanams including 2 gold velvets, 4 plain velvets with stripes, 1 pair of pistols and five maunds of wax candles.[3] During the absence of Chanda Sahib the office of the Diwan was entrusted to Meer Assud, the preceptor of Safdar Ali.[4] The new Diwan perceived the folly of allowing Chanda Sahib to remain in Trichy semi-independent state at Trichinopoly. He realised too well that with a man of Chanda Sahib's talents and in possession of tremendous resources, the only natural consequence would be a certain dismemberment of the kingdom. There is little doubt that Chanda Sahib had realised his own gains. He would have verily wished to throw off his allegiance to his father-in-law , but had to be tactful lest one rash step would spoil the acquisitions obtained with such great labour. In the meanwhile Meer Assud represented the matter to Safdar Ali,[5] who realised his error which it was now too late to redress.

1.. Grose, A voyage to the East Indies, III, p. 278

2. Madras Diary d/21-4-1737. Diary and Consultation Book, 1737, Appendix, p.76

3. Ibid.

4. Orme, A History of the Military Transactions, I, p.38

5. Ibid., p. 39

Matters were represented to the Nawab[1] who was for some time unwilling to take any steps either because he feared a rupture in his own family or was loth to take any action against his son-in-law. In the meanwhile, Chanda Sahib aware of the opinion against him, took steps to strengthen the fortifications of Trichinopoly and appointed his brothers Bada Sahib in Madura and Saduk Sahib in Dindigul[2]; however, he refrained from shaking off his allegiance to the Nawab, whose authority he respected too well to declare himself in open hostility to him.

Matters had now apparently come to a pretty pass and the Nawab was atlast induced either by fear or envy to send a force under his son to Trichinopoly. The greater part of the army had however orders to camp on the confines of Madura and, the Nawab himself, it is said, advanced with 12,000 men to Trichinopoly. "Chanda Sahib came out to meet the Nawab and the affair was accomodated. Dost Ali was received at Trichinopoly with honours worthy of his dignity" and remained there for some time.[3]

At the same time that an army was sent to Trichi-

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1. Ibid., Also, Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 250

2. Ibid.

3. Lettre Du Pere Trembloy, missionaire dans le royaume de Carnate a Monsieur..... Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIii, p. 121. It is a fact that Safdar Ali did actually join Chanda Sahib as will be seen later; but it is very doubtful whether the Nawab himself visited Trichinopoly as the Jesuit Letter says. If the Nawab joined Chanda Sahib, his visit must have been of a very short duration for early in February 1738 he was reported near Golconda. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/ 2/2/ 1738: Despatches to England, 1736-40, Appendix, p.26. But the Jesuit letter states that "he remained there for several years."

Trichinopoly, a powerful force was deputed against Mysore under two brother officers of courage and experience named K Kasim Khan and Morad Khan. The expedition was, as Wilks states, an irrgular project of ambition and cupidity. The riches of Seringapatam had attracted the attention of Dost Ali and the prodigal conduct of Tahir Khan of Sera, to whom the tribute of Mysore belonged, left the field open for the Nawab's greed. The army arrived full of high expectations 40 miles N.N.E of Seringapatam. Deo Raja of Mysore " a man of vigorous constitution and mental faculties in full" advanced to meet his formidable enemy. "At a village named Keilenchee near Chennapam, the light troops of the Mussalman army reported the approach of a body of the enemy towards the encampment and the two chiefs proceeded with the usual detail of troops on way to reconnoitre. Deo Raja had come forward for a similar purpose with a select body of horse, leaving the rest of his army prepared to follow or encamp. A small body only was shown by Deo Raja of the strength of an ordinary reconnotring party, and the Mussalman chiefs, being induced to push forward for the purpose of examining the main body, were attacked by superior numbers, and after a brave resistance, were both slain; the advanced troops of Deo Raja, supported by his army followed up the blow; the Mussalman camp was surprised and overthrown; the remains of this mighty expedition fled in dismay and confusion to the lower country, and Deo Raja returned to Seringapatam"[1] The expedition took place about the end of 1737.

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1. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 237

The arrival of Safdar Ali in the South had apparently a very sedative influence on the politics at Trichinopoly. This part of the country which had for long suffered from the evils of wars protrated over a series of years, atlast enjoyed peace for a few months to come. But it was a peace preceding a more virulent storm. Perhaps deceived by the peaceful state of affairs or perhaps satisfied with the bona fides of his brother-in-law, Safdar Ali returned once more to Arcot early in 1738.[1] Soon after his departure, however, war recommenced in the South.

During his stay at Trichinopoly Chanda Sahib had cultivated intimate friendship with the French colony at Pondicherry, and specially with its governor M. Benoit Dumas.[2] This intimacy, has, in certain quarters, been attributed to the desire on his part to obtain for himself French support in his bid for independence, if and when the opportunity presented itself. He had been of all the native supporters of the French, the most frequent visitor at Pondicherry and the most respected of all the native grandees.[3] This friendship was further cemented in 1738.

In 1737 Ekoji II, the ruler of Tanjore, died. His widow Seejan Bai also called Mutu Sri Sijana Baiji Sahib took up

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1. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/2-2-1738: Despatches to England 1736-40, Appendix, p.26.

2. Malleson, History of the French in India, p.74

3. Pillai gives a very interesting account of presents sent by Chanda Sahib at this stage to Governor Dumas of the French Company. See Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary I, p. 48-49.

the reins of Government as a regent on behalf of Pertab Singh a minor.[1] Seejan Bai was not left in peace to rule in peace. A distant relation of the late Raja taking advantage of the state of affairs intrigued hard and dethroned Seejan Bai. The usuper was Shahjee or Shahojee commonly called Kattoo Raja.[2] This event happened in the year 1738. Shahojee, in order to keep up the struggle against any would-be competitor, offered to cede Karikal[3], the fortress of Kirkangarhi and five other villages to the French on a promise of 21,500 pagodas, as well as a sum 43,000 pagodas to be lent free of interest repayable in three years.[4] Dumas accepted the concession by an agreement of 10-7-1738, but not depending upon the word of the Raja, he made Chanda Sahib witness of the contract[5], aware of the fact that there was no love lost between the Nawab of the country Karnatic[6] and the rulers of Tanjore. A month previous to this agreement Chanda Sahib had actually directed his forces against Tanjore under instructions from the court at Arcot.[6] He called upon the French to refrain from lending support to Shahojee in virtue of their longstanding friendship. " As long as Shahji tries to

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1. Hicky, The Tanjore Mahratta Principality in Southern mindia, p. 78
2. Ibid.
3. Part of Tanjore with Tarangambar to the north and Negapatam to the south.
4. Martineau, Dupleix et L'Inde Francaise, II, p.8
5. Archives de L'Inde Francaise, Lettres et Conventions 1666 a 1793, p. 93. A resume of the Documents referring to the occupation of Karikal by the French.
6. Chanda Sahib's letter to Governor Dumas d/ 5-6-1738. Ibid., p. 57

for support outside the Mogols, his affair is bound to run ill; he ought not to doubt that all his possessions really belong to the domain of this prince (the Nawab of the Karnatic) .....his desire to establish himself in supreme authority makes him seek help from other sources, but by these means he advances very little his own interests; as for you I would invite you to remain faithful to me and not to lend any assistance at present especially as I have been deputed to against Tanjore."[1] In the meanwhile Kattu Raja or Shahoojee, feeling himself very secure, forgot his promises to the French and opposed the landing of a French flottila which awaited near Karikal.[2] The French were however decided to annex the place. There was no doubt that their attempt would prove quite successful, ~~inasmuch as~~ for Chanda Sahib was at that time devastating all the Chola country, his army pillaging the fields, plundering the villages and carrying away people into slavery.[3] The Raja of Tanjore had shut himself behind the walls of his fort, and was apparently quite powerless. But refraining from taking ~~any~~ any overt step of his own accord, Dumas appealed to Chanda Sahib, through his physician Runim Francisco Pareira, to help them with his army ~~in the~~

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1. Ibid.
2. Martineau, Dupleix et L'inde Francaise, II, p.8,
3. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p. 63-64,

in the acquisition of Karikal and Kirkangari.[1] Chanda Sahib promised support and assured the French Governor that on his part nothing would be spared, neither money nor even his own life, although he would appreciate the services of 50 European musketeers and a captain.[2] On or about the 26th of September 1738[3], Chanda Sahib pushed his forces against Karikal, intending first to settle with the Raja about the tribute owing to the Nawab and then inducing him to grant a parvana making over Karikal to the French. A force of 700 horse was despatched against Karikal under Pareira. " The commander of the Raja of Tanjore ran away at the sight of the Nawab's forces leaving three to four hundred men in the fort of Kirkangari to which Pareira ordered an escalade and made himself its master with ease. The action took place on 6-2-1739."[4] Chanda Sahib informed the French Governor of the event desiring that Dumas ought to profit by the occasion for "Si vous la laissez echapper, vous auriez peut-etre de la peine d'entrouver une plus favorable:c'est l'amitie que je vous porte qui m'oblige a vous donner cet avis et pour m'acquitter de la

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1. Chanda Sahib's letter to Governor Dumas d/13-9-1738. "Aquim Rummin Francisco Pareira m'a depuis fait connaitre qu'en faveur de votre amitie, vous souhaitiez que je vous aidasse avec mon armee dans l'acquisition de Karikal et Carklangery..." Archives de l'Inde Francaise, Lettres et Conventions 1666 a 1773 , p. 63. All the authors that have been referred to on the subject state that the initiative came from Chanda Sahib who offered without the French asking for it, to occupy Karikal and make it over to the French. Chanda Sahib's letter settles the fact to the contrary.

2. Ibid.

3. On 24-9-1738 Chanda Sahib wrote to Goverhor Dumas that he would start for Karikal in two or three days. Ibid., p.64

Abbe Guyon, Histoire des Indes Orientales, III, p. 269

parole que je voue ai donne, vous declarant que, si de votre cote vous n'agissez pas, j'en suis degage."[1] Delighted with this success, M. Dumas atonce equipped a small vessel[2] which arrived at Karikal "in four and twenty hours" and that place and the port of Kirkangadri with the villages depending on the same were made over to the French on 14-2-1739.[3] M.Golard, being installed as the first French governor, the Raja of Tanjore was induced to ratify the act of in a treaty dated 20-4-1739.[4] The occupation of Karikal by the French marked a distinct departure from the policy hitherto adopted by the English nations in India. It inaugurates an era for the first time in the history of the pronounced interference of the European powers into the political life of the indegenous rulers of the soil~~is inaugurated an era~~ and it is strikingly significant that the rulers of the Karnatic were mainly responsible for the same.

But meanwhile events of greater importance were impending. The aggressive policy of the Nawab, combined with the subversion of the Hindu kingdoms of the South, incited the jealous wrath of the Mahrattas under Baji Rao, the second Peshwa. In July-August 1738 the Mahrattas broke into the Karnatic.[5] Safdar Ali who had returned to Arcot early in the year marched out to meet them in absence of the Nawab who was then at Golconda. The force at his command was however so weak that any resistance was out of question, and the Mahrattas entered the city spreading misery and desolation.[6] They were however

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1. Chanda Sahib's letter to the French governor d/9-2-1739. Archives de l'Inde Francaise, Lettres et Conventions 1666 a 1793., pp 64-65
2. Malleson, History of the French in India, p.79
3. Archives de l'Inde Francaise, Lettres et Conventions 1666 a 1793, p.66
4. Abbe Guyon, Histoire des Indes Orientales, III, p. 270
5. Madras Diary 8-7-1738;Dairy and Consultation Book 1738, Appendix p.77. ;also letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/29-8-1738, Despatches to England 1736-40, Appendix, p.26.
6. Ibid.

prevented from doing further mischief by the timely action of Safdar Ali who bought them off for a large sum.[1] But this retreat afforded only a temporary respite and was a precursor of a second invasion on a much larger scale. It would seem surprising that the Mahrattas retreated on this occasion when seemingly the plunder of the whole Carnatic was within their reach. The only reasonable cause that dictated the move was perhaps the impending invasion of India by Nadir Shah of Persia, to resist which, it was reported, Baji Rao intended to form a grand alliance of all India.[2]

The year 1739 is barren of important events. Soon after the retreat of the Mahrattas, Safdar Ali marched to the south to visit Chanda Sahib at Trichinopoly.[3] The object was perhaps to keep under check any move on the part of the latter to make himself independent. Safdar Ali's position was strangely peculier. At the same time that he had to watch events at Arcot, he was also required to keep an eye on the activities of his brother-in-law. And the only plausible manner in which he could contrive both the things, was to keep the armies always on the field, moving from one end of the country to the other. Towards September 1737 he returned to Arcot at the same time that the Nawab returned from Golconda.[4] They had come to Arcot with the intention of attending a wedding,[5] soon after which, both expected to return once more to their original destination. After

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1. Ibid.
2. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p.
3. On 3-10-1739 Fort St. David reports the arrival of Safdar Ali Khan from Trichinopoly. Madras Diary 3-10-1739. Diary and Consultation Book 1739, Appendix, p.80.
4. Letter from Fort St. David to Fort St. George d/13-9-1739. Letters to Fort St. George 1738-39, Appendix p.58.
5. A letter from Gullam Mohyadean Vakeel at Arcot received on January 5, 1740, Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence 1740, p. 1, No. 2

a sojourn of a few months the Nawab set off for Alamparai[1] which place had a strange facination for him, while his son once more proceeded to Trichinopoly and thence to Tanjore with a view to lay siege to that place.[2] The new ruler of Tanjore by name Pertab Singh had just assumed the reins of Government under the most inauspicious circumstances. The tributes he owed to the Nawab were in arrears, atleast that was what the Nawab's son put forth to explain his siege of Tanjore at this period.[3] The result of the siege was a complete success for the arms of the Nawab and Pertab Singh of Tanjore was deposed and kept a prisoner in his palace with the allowance of half a crown a day.[4]

The year 1740 marked the nemesis of the Nawab's power in the Carnatic. We have already alluded to the Mahratta invasion of the Carnatic in the year 1738 and we then stated that the invasion was a precurser of yet another invasion on a grander scale. This second invasion took effect in 1740. Baji Rao the peshwa as early as 1739 dreampt of an expidition to the Karnatic. The Mahrattas had then secured the Northern frontier by defeating the Nizam at Bhopal, but the latter having departed from the terms of treaty, his great age and other causes induced the Peshwa to venture the expedition.[5] But however his hands were temporarily tied down by the

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1. Letter from Fort St. George to Fort St. David d/5-2-1740. Letters from Fort St. George, 1740, Appendix, p.9.
2. On 19-2-1740 two members of the council of Fort St. David waited upon Safdar Ali on his way to Tanjore with presents worth 632 Pagodas, 1 fanam and 46 cash. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company of 19-2-1740. Despatches to England 1736-40, Appendix, p.27.
3. Safdar Ali's letter to Governor Dumas d/29-2-1740. Archives de l'Inde Francaise, Lettres et Conventions 1666 a 1793, p. 125
4. The Necessity of the Suspension and Arrest of Lord Pigot, pp. 75, 123
5. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, pp. 406-07

deficiency of resources. Towards the latter part of 1738 a friendship was cemented between the Peshwa and Raghoji Bhonsle, the leader of the opposition party, who was won over to a scheme of joint action, and the plunder of the Karnatic was offered as the prize.[1] Added to this, the Mahrattas received urgent solicitations for help from the dispoiled Hindu Rajas, Pratab Singh of Tanjore and Bengaru Tirumala of Madura, who, represented that not only Hindu states but also Hinduism was on the brink of destruction at the hands of the Mohammadans.[2] The Nizam also resented the increased power of the Nawab. His attention was taken up by the affairs of greater importance at Delhi, and himself prevented from marching into the Karnatic, he thought of giving the Mahrattas a chance to effect what he was not able to accomplish.[3] That which really dictated the Nizam or rather his son Nazir Jung to act against the Nawab was, it is said, the witholding of the tribute by the latter computed at 60 lacs of rupees.[4] It was also said on very good authority[5] that Safdar Ali Khan invited the Mahrattas to assist him in getting rid of Chanda Sahib, promising to give them four lacs of rupees as soon as they arrived at four days' journey from the country. This was so also according to Wilks, who also states that, unable to move the Nawab to any vigorous action against the growing power of Chanda Sahib,

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1. Ibid., p. 409
2. Orme, A history of the Military Transactions, I, p.41; Grose, A Voyage to the East Indies, II, p.Xii; Memoire sur les dernieres guerres des Morses aux Indes Orientales, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p. 179; A letter from Emaum Sahib to Coja Petruo d/ 6-8-1739, Diary and Consultation Book 1739, Appendix, p. 78. ;Abbe Guyon, Histoires des Indes Orientales, III, p. 279
3. Orme, A History of the Military Transactions, I, p. 39
4. Letter from Shamrove, Vakeel at Arcot, received May 13, 1740; Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence 1740, p. 13, No 32.
5. Letter from Shamrove , vakeel at Arcot, received May 4, 1740, Ibid., pp 12, No. 31

"the Diwan and heir apparent determined on averting the impending peril by a measure of dangerous policy;namely, a negotiation to be concealed from the Nawab, for the purpose of introducing a body of Mahratta troops ostensibly to invade the provinces, and actually to unite with Safdar Ali in destroying Chanda Sahib, who was, of course, expected to take the field in the cause of Islam. The great body of army under Safdar Ali was placed to the southward, in the expectation that the aged Nawab would, on the approach of the Mahrattas, finding himself without sufficient force to oppose them in the field, shut himself up in Vellor or Arcot when the Mahrattas would pass according to the previous compact, to the pretended attack of Safdar Ali and Chanda Sahib and leave the former free to regulate his concerted plan."[1]

The army that entered the Karnatic under Raghoji Bhonsle serving under whom was the famous Murari Rao, consisted of from 50 to 52,000 men,[2] and was composed of the infantry supplied exclusively by the Peshwa, the cavalry being furnished by various leaders of less note.[3] The plain of the Karnatic is surrounded on its western frontier by a chain of Ghauts about 100 miles from the sea, and the Mahratta army was expected to enter by the Gorge

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1. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p. 252

2. Letter from Shamrove Vakeel at Arcot, received May 4, 1740: Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740, Pp 11-12, No. 31. There is however a very great disparity in the number. Coja Burban to Dr. Joseph a t Madras d/13-6-1740, 50,000 (Ibid., pp 18-19, No. 43); Letter from Fort St. George to Governor of Bombay d/ 20-6-1740 - 42,000 horse (Letters from Fort St. George 1740, Appendix p. 78.) Emaun Sahib to Coja Petrus d/6-8-1739 - 40 to 50,000 (Diary and Consultation Books 1739, Appendix p.) Pillai, 40,000 to 50,000 (Private Diary, I, 119), Orme, 100,000 (History of the Military Transactions, I, p. 4 1) and Guyon - 150,000 foot a nd 60,000 horses. (Histoire des Indes Orientales, III, p. 280.)

3. Grant Duff, The History of the Mahrattas, I, p. 409

of Damalcherry, 100 miles west of Madras. It was apparently given out that the army was deputed to collect outstanding tribute which the Nawab owed the Mahrattas.[1] on the 24th of April the Nawab demanded of the Mahratta vakeel what the invasion meant when the yearly tribute was always sent to the Raja of Satara.[2] The explanation was however not expected to be satisfactory. On the same day news arrived that the Mahratta cavalry had advanced upon Kudanpur and after levying from the inhabitants black-mail to the extent of 60,000[3] rupees marched against Kudapah where they had an engagement with Abdul-Nabee-khan, who was defeated and obliged to pay two lacs of rupees.[4] By the 25th of April all the towns northward of Damalcherry pass had been plundered and the Mahrattas approached nearer and neraer to the province of Arcot. Roused by the imminent danger, the Nawab ordered on the 27th April that all the baggage and artillery should be removed out of Arcot and that the camp be pitched immediately on the plains intending to march our forthwith, lamenting all the time the want of good cavalry.[5] Meer Assad and some other great men were, in the mean-while, employed in draining a great tank near the Palaar river with a view to distress the Mahrattas for water.[6] The Nawab made

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1. Letter from Fort St. George to Stephen Law the Governor of Bombay d/ 20-6-1740. Letters from Fort St. George 1740. Appendix p.16.
2. Letter from Shamron Vakeel at Arcot, received May 4, 1740: Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence 1740, pp. 11-12, No. 31
3. Ibid., Also Pillai, Private Diary, I, p. 119
4. Letter from Shamron Vakeel at Arcot, received May 13, 1740. Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740, p.13, No. 32
5. Ibid Letter d/May 4, 1740, p.p. 11-12, No. 31
6. Ibid., Letter d/May 13, 1740. p.13, No. 32.

several presents to the Poligars and the Hindu Governors and remitted their tribute to him for a whole year, they on their part assisting him against the Mahrattas.[1]

Realising too well the futility of all his attempts, the Nawab wrote letters to Safdar Ali Khan and Chanda Sahib engaged at the time with the Southern conquests; but their replies diappointed him. Safdar Ali considered that his coming would in no manner be of any use "the Enemy having Fifty thousand Horse besides two thousand more employed by Moorari Roy to plunder the villages." He, however, consoled the old man with the idea that there was no reason to fear an attack on Arcot, since the Mahrattas had already plundered Cudapah. Feeling this to be a very strange attitude on the part of his son, especially his illogical line of reasoning, the Nawab wrote once more in stronger terms acquainting him of the danger of the province was exposed to and the absolute necessity there was of returning peremtorily.[2] To Chanda Sahib the Nawab wrote atleast five letters, the contents of which , it would appear, were misunderstood or a wrong interpretation given to them. Thinking that the approaching rainy season, in that part of the country, would prevent the Mahrattas from entering the province, and being under the impression that the Nawab was only calling him to attend a wedding ceremony of one of the relatives, he procrastinated his departure till unfortunately it was too late.[3] But the failure of the son and the son-in-law to hasten to his help did not, in any way, deter the NAwab, who now prepared to march to

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Letter from Chanda Sahib Received September 18, 1740; Ibid., p. ~~11-12, No. 31.~~ 30, No. 74.

prevent the Mahrattas from crossing the passes leading to Arcot. The latter were all this time busy towards the North of Damalchery and had about the 28th of April led a second expedition to Cuddapah[1] on the refusal of Abdul-Nabee-Khan to pay some tribute demanded except taken on a field of battle.

The 29th of April the drums were beat in the morning as the signal for the Nawab's impending departure. Two more drums were beat, one to suggest that everything was in readiness and the third signifying the actual march out.[2] The forces with the Nawab were estimated at 12,000 men[3] including a cavalry of 2000. He arrived at Canamy, 25 miles west of Arcot early in May and took up his position near the passes which could very easily be guarded against heavy odds. The enemy soon after collected on the heights of Canamy but realised the impossibility of forcing their way through the passes. The Nawab had distributed his little force very ingenuously. He placed one part of his army with artillery upon the High road called the Damalchery Canama, and another a little below to act as a relieving force if occasion required. A similar distribution was made of the Mahratta forces. That part of the Nawab's army encamped on the high road was commanded to be attacked by a body of 10,000 Horse moving in three companies.[4] Before however any engagement could take place,

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1. Letter from Shamrove Vakeel at Arcot:Received May 4,1740. Ibid.,p.11-12,No.31.

2. Ibid.

3. Madras Diary 12-5-1740:Diary and Consul.Book,1740, Appendix, p.82.Orme states it to be 4000 Cavalry and 6000 Infantry.See Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I,p.41-42.

4. Letter from Raventoola Audiapah,Spy at Arcot: Received May 20, 1740. Records Fort St.George,Country Correspondence,1740, pp.14-15,No.34.

it is said the Mahrattas offered overtures for an accomodation but received no answer from the Nawab that could be considered satisfactory.[1] On the 19th May a division of the Mahratta army 10,000 strong set out from the General Encampment and passed from East to West through a narrow pass enclosed on each side by a very thick and high wood.[2] They were conducted by Chicka Royallo " a Gentue Prince of Poonganoor"[3] and favoured by rainy weather appeared in the rear of the Nawab's position without being perceived. Dost Ali Khan, when informed of the approach of the Cavalry, imagined it to be that of his own son coming to his relief. But not a moment too soon he was undeceived in his hopes. Hemmed in between the two attacks, one from his rear at the foot of the mountains, and the other from the heights of Canama, there remained little hopes for the small army of the Nawab. However realising that his end was approaching the Nawab determined to sell his life dearly. The battle was fought for sometime at an even break, till the Nawab, his son Hussain Ali Khan and many of his best generals perished. Meer Assad, the Prime Minister, and Taqui Sahib were grivously wounded and taken prisoners of war. Never did a field of battle present such a sickening sight. Wherever one looked, nothing was to be seen save wounded horses and elephants lying pell-mell in the mire, with the officers and the soldiers trying in vain to extricate themselves from the bloody debris. Anybody who dared to

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1. Madras Diary dated 12-5-1740: Diary and Consul Book, 1740, Appendix, p.82.
2. Letter from Raventoola Audiapa: Received May 20, 1740. Country Correspondence 1740, pp.14-15, No.34.
3. Ibid. Perhaps a Poligar of the place. According to the Memoire sur les dernieres guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales it was a corrupt hindu general in the Nawab's army who allowed the Mahrattas to pass through a stratagic point entrusted to his charge.- Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p.180.

resist was cut down and the only safety lay in flight.[1] ~~Delight~~ Diligent search was made for the bodies of the Nawab and his son but the latter's corps could not be found being without doubt trodden down by elephants, buried in the mud and disfigured beyond all recognition.[2] The battle was fought on Fridaythe 20th May 1740.[3]

Whatever be the view taken of the personal character of the Nawab it can hardly be disputed that his reign marked the climax of the dynasty of the Nawabs of the Carnatic. The eight years of his rule were mostly years of wars and bloodshed but they were not therefore bereft of more sober events. The Nawab showed early a singular disposition to favour the European colonists especially the French. Dumas anxious to turn this frienship to the best interest of the settlement pressed upon the Nawab the advisability of procuring for him the permission to strike coins, After a great deal of solicitations the permission was obtained on 17-8-1736,[4] and a charter authorising the coining of rupees (15)[5] together with a dress of honour was received at Pondicherry with the greatest rejoicing. Guns were fired and the document carried in a procession through the ~~streets~~

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1. Ibid., p.181. a similar account is given by Raventoola Audiapah Spy at Arcot, in his letter received May 20,1740. Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, p.14-15, No. 34.

2. Abbe Guyon, Histoire des Indes Orientales, III, p. 286. The Jesuit writer says quite the other way about. But the Nawab's body however disfigured was likely recognised by the dress of honour he wore.

3. Ibid.

4. Martineau, Dupleix et l'Inde Trangaise, I, p. 404.

5. The French Rupee was a little broader than an English shilling and very much thicker. It bore on one side the stamp of the Mogul and on the other of the place wher it was coined. Abbe Guyon, Histoiredes Indes Oriental, III, p.256.

streets.[1] On this occasion the Nawab adressed governor Dumas this: "The reputation you have acquired of being a true and faithful friend is known everywhere, with view therefore to gain your friendship, I grant you permission to coin rupees at Pondicherry of the coinage of Arcot, conformably to the Parwanna I send you. Citizakhan and Emaum Sahib have requested me to send you an Elephant and Harness. I send them you, let me hear often from you."[2] The advantages that the French derived from the permission were indeed very great. The amount struck off, the very next year following the acquisition of the right, was computed at 1,420,000[3] and this established a very profitable in bullion. The annual income of the Company on the coinage was estimated at 200,000 rupees,[4] a very great consideration compared to the expenses incured to obtain the right viz. Rs 80,000 to the Nawab, Rs25,000 presents to his Durbar, Rs15,000 to Emaum Sahib, Rs8000 as gifts and other sums expended during negotiations,[5] although the sum officially declared amounted to no more than Rs22,000.[6] As a reward for the success of his negotiations Governor Dumas was confirred with the order of St. Michel.[7]

It was observed in the last chapter that the Christian missionaries received almost paternal attention at the hands of Nawab Sadat-ulla-khan. The same kind of treatement was continued

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1. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, pp. 3-4.
2. Archives de l'Inde Frangaise, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ Lettres et conventions 1666 a 1793, p. 42-43.
3. Marchneau, Dupleix et l'Inde Frangaise, I, p.404.
4. Malleson, History of the French in India, p.73.
5. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary I, Pp. 3-4.
6. Martinaeau, Dupleix et l'Inde Frangaise, I, p.403.
7. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary I, p.42

by the Nawab Dost Alli, but unfortunately we have very few records extant to prove the extent of this favour. We only know that when Governor Dumas asked the permission of the Nawab to allow some jesuit fathers to establish themselves at Ramguery and Nayalaparam, to the North of Pullicat, the Nawab willingly allowed them to make their residence at the places desired and issued orders to the Governors of the places not to harm the jesuits in any manner, but to keep them and to protect them in the best manner possible.[1] Apart from this, we also have a letter written by Father General from Rome praising the benevolent protection accorded by the Nawab to the Christians, the liberty he gave to preach the Gospel, the signal kindness with which he took care of the Churches and PRESBYTERIES and his endeavours to put a stop to the persecutions to which the Christian missionaries were subjected especially at Tanjore. The Father expressed his gratitude for all this and finally promised to pray for the Nawab "to the Lord of Hosts, and Dispenser of all Good."[2]

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1. Archives de l'Inde Frangaise, Lettres et Conventions, 1666 a 1793. pp. 30-31.
2. Besse, Fr. Beschi, p.160. The Letter was despatched on 29-10-1739 from Rome.

C H A P T E R VI.

Safdar Ali Khan.

One striking characteristic of the battle of Canamay was the shameless desertion of the Nawab's cause by his son and son-in-law. The late Nawab's solicitations for help, we have seen, terminated unfavourably. Both Safdar ali and Chanda Sahib procrastinated the assistance called for, each one for his own reason. The Nawab's son was in part guilty of having called in the Mahratta power to invade his father's territories on the secret understanding that the Mahrattas would march against Chanda Sahib at Trichinopoly direct, without molesting the places on the way.[1] But the previous calculations of Safdar ali were evidently frusted by the late Nawab, who, contrary to all expectations marched out in person to prevent the ingress of the enemy. To obviate therefore, if possible, the evil consequences of his own folly, Safdar Ali started from the South, at the head of 3000 horse and 1000 foot[2] sending word to his brother-in-law, Chanda Sahib to co-operate in the grand effort to drive out the Mahrattas.[3] Hardly had he arrived at Arcot when intelligence was received that the Nawab's forces were completely annihilated and himself killed. Thinking discretion the better part of valour and not deeming it practicable to offer any ressitance with the

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1. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p.252; also Letter from Shamrove, vakeel at Arcot, received May13, 1740: Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740, p.12, No31.
2. Ibid., p. 13, No.32, Gullam Mahommud old Vakeel at Arcot (Ibid, p.14, No.33.) estimates the force at 5000 horse; Ananda Ranga Ballai (Private Diary. I, p.120) at 20,000, and a Jesuit Letter (Lettres edefiantes et curieuses, VIII, p.184) at 400 horses.
3. Letter from Safdar Ali to Governor Dumas 7-7-1740: Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, 126; also Ibid., p. 121.

slender force at his command, he thought it expedient to seek refuge behind the strong walls of Vellore, having previously sent away his cavalry to strenghten the various parts.[1] Chanda Sahib had, in the meanwhile arrived with a force of about 5000 horse half way to Arcot,[2] when being made aware of the disaster, he retraced his steps to Trichinopoly,[3] there to organise his forces, "to take revenge on the Enemy."

The death of the late Nawab , the flight of his son and the general consternation in the country afforded a fine opportunity t o the Mahrattas to reap a rich harvest. Soon after the victory, they plundered the camp and made the best of the way to come up with Safdar Ali at Arcot. Hearing however that he was taking shelter at Vellore, a part of the army under the joint command of Narhary Roy and Beemy Roy were sent against Vellore, while a force of about 4000 awaited at Ranny Pettah,[4] north of Arcot. The force that was sent against Vellore having no cannons to bombard the walls,[5] would not halt, but joining the troops at Rannee Petah they swooped down upon Arcot, which was only defended by a bad citadel and the garrison not offering any defence, the Mahrattas pillaged it without any obstacle.[6] From Arcot they proceeded to

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1. Ibid.

2. Letter from Sha mrove Vakeel at Arcot Recd. May 13, 1740: Records Fort St. George, country Correspondence, 1740, p.13 No.32, Ananda Ranga Pillai, (Private Diary, I, p.121.) estimates the force at 2000 horse and Orme, (a History of the Military Transactions, I, p.42) at 500 horse and 10,000 foot.

3. Letter from Chanda Sahib d/18-9-1740:Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740, No. 74.

4. From Raventoola Andipa, spy at Arcot Received May 8, 1740: Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740,p.14-15

5. Lettre du pere Tagues à madame de Saint- Hyacinthe de Sauveterre, le 18 Janvier 1741:Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, VIII,p.55.

6. Ibid., also, letter from Coja Burhan Cawn to Dr. Joseph at Madras d/13-6-1740: Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740, pp.18-19, No.43.

Gangam, Trinomaly, Conjeveram and even Trivellore, a few miles west of Madras.[1] At Trinomaly they secured a heavy booty. The idols were robbed of their ornaments, the temples were deprived of their dancers and devi-dasses and horrible cruelties were exercised wherever they passed through.[2] It was an evil day for the Carnatic. Never had the Mahratta invasion penetrated so far into the country since the days of Aurangzeb. The Nawabs of the Carnatic had hitherto by cunning, bribery or bravery prevented the Mahrattas from crossing the mountains. But the local disaffection on the part of the several Governors in the Carnatic had, in a manner, facilitated the progress of the Mahrattas who now torrent like swept everything before them.

As soon as Nasir Jang, the son of Nizam-ul-mulk was informed of the ravages committed by the Mahrattas, he determined to put a stop to their progress although like Safdar ali Khan, he too was responsible to a certain degree in letting lose the Mahratta hordes upon the Carnatic.[3] Early in June 1740, he was reported awaiting on the banks of the river Krishna with an army estimated from 20,000 horse[4] to 60,000 horse and 15,000 foot soldiers.[5] It was further reported that he had sent a part of his army under one Ameen Khan to secure the passes leading to Mysore, and divided the

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1. Ibid.; also, ~~xxxxx fxxx Xxjx Xxxxxx~~ D. Love, Vestiges of old Madras, II, p.279.

2. Ibid.

3. Letter from Shamrove Vakeel at Arcot received May 13, 1740: Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740, p. 18-19, No 43

4. Letter from Gullam Muhammud old Vakeel at Arcot, received May 13, 1740: Ibid., p. 14, No. 33.

5. Abbé Guyon, Histoire des Indes Orientales, III, p.294.

rest of his army into four parts to prevent the Mahrattas from escaping.[1] He was however prevented from arriving personally at Arcot by the River Krishna being in floods. The approach of Nasir Jung's forces afforded a fine opening for Safdar Ali, who, finding it impossible to retrieve the situation by force of arms, thought of accomodating matters. The Mahratta general was shrewd enough not to loose the opportunity and a peace was soon concluded, mainly through the efforts of Assad Khan and Taqui Saheb, who were prisoners of war in the Mahratta camp.[2] The terms agreed uopn were most derogatory to the Nawab's interests. He agreed to pay to the Mahrattas a sum of 32 lakhs of rupees,[3] to renounce all claims on Trichinopoly and Tanjore, to restore the Hindu princes of the south to the possession of the lands of their sovereignity and finally to join his forces to those of the Mahrattas against Chanda Sahib.[4] The last part of the treaty remained a secret article between the Mahrattas and Safdar Ali.[5] In return for these concessions the Mahrattas, on their part, acknowledged Safdar Ali as the Nawab of the Carnatic, in the place of his father and agreed to evacuate the provinces on payment of the first instalment of the indemnity. The part payment agreed

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1. Letter from Coja Burhan Cawn to Dr. Joseph at Madras d/ 13-6-1740: Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence 1740, p. 18-19, NO. 43.
2. Letter from Fort St. George to Stephen Law, the Governor of Bombay d/20-61740: Letter from Fort St. George 1740, Appendix, p.17.
3. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/26-9-1741: Despatches to England, 1741-42, Appendix p.29; Also D. Love Vestiges of old Madras, II, p.279 - Orme (History of the Military transactions, I, p.43) puts down the indemnity to the fabulous sum of a crore of rupees. According to Martineau, (Dupleix et l'Inde Française, II, p.20) the sum was Rs40, lacks.
4. Memoire sur les deniers guerres desmores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, VIII, p.185. The treaty is stated to have been signed in August 1740 but it is certain that the general terms were publicly known as far back as June 1740. The English became aware of it in that month.
5. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.43.

upon was paid down, and the Mahrattas retired to "the Western Borders of the Province" carrying with them some of the Mediators as hostages for the proper fulfilment of the terms of the treaty.[1]

The first shock of the Mahratta invasion had been to throw the country into inexpressible fright. The places within the range of the invaders were all deserted, and the people - Hindus and Mahommedans - sought refuge to the southwards behind the walls of Pondicherry, which was regarded as a place of safety. Within five days of the battle all the houses ~~all the houses~~ at Pondicherry were choked up to their fullest capacity and yet the stream of refugees continued to gather in the streets, which became in a short time a regular mass of humanity. It is little wonder, if under similar circumstances the Nawab bethought himself of protection for his family behind the same walls, which afforded ungrudgingly protection to thousands. At the same time that the Nawab himself fled to Vellore, he sent his mother, the wife of the late Nawab to Pondicherry.[2] It was a moving spectacle to see the old widow, stricken by misfortune and sorrow, imploring protection, in the name of the king of France, behind Pondicherry. She arrived at 11 A.M. at Pondicherry with 10 to 15 carriages, 3 to 4 Palanquins 20 to 30 horses, 4 to 5 elephants, 10 to 12 camels under an escort of 100 soldiers.[3] The situation was most delicate and fraught with danger. To afford protection was to invoke the wrath of the Mahrattas; to refuse protection would be atonce unmanly and repugnant to all sense of chivalry and decorum. The grant of

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1. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/26-9-1741: Despatches to England, 1741-42, Appendix, p.29.

2. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.124: It has hitherto been stated that the wife and family of the new Nawab also accompanied the widow. But according to Pillai they did not arrive till a month a nd a half later, and Pillai's authority ~~is undisputed~~ is undisputedly clear.

3. Ibid.

protection no doubt endangered the existence of the colony itself; but in refusing to afford the same Dumas ran the risk, in case of turn of fortune, of making irreconciliable enemies, the hitherto friendly Nawabs of the Carnatic, which in its turn would do irremediable harm to the interests of the French Company. In arriving at the desision Governor Dumas acted like any ordinary man dictated by common reason and understanding. But far from acting on his own single initiative, he took his council in his confidence, who unanimously resolved to uphold him in his decision. The gates of Valdavur were thrown open. When the old lady entered the gates, 21 guns beamed forth their salute, and when she arrived at the Governor's garden yet 21 more guns saluted her.

A month and half later on 6-7-1740, encouraged by the reception given to his mother, the Nawab sent the rest of the family from Vellore, for better safety behind the same walls of Pondicherry. The crotège this time consisted of the consort of Nawab Safdar Ali and his three sisters, the sister of the late Nawab Dost Ali Khan and the son of Safdar Ali, an infant of barely three years. The Nawabs family entered the gates in twenty palanquins followed by three hundered horsemen, five hundred soldiers, twenty to thirty camels, thirty to thirty-five carriages and more than two hundred carts in which were children servants. There were besides more than two thousand beasts of burden. The Governor and the Councillors waited at the gate of the town, with Indian music playing its sweet tunes. The whole garrison presented arms, flanking the ramparts and saluted the cavalcade as it entered the gates with a triple discharge of guns. They were then conducted

to their room, from which the ladies repaired to the room of the late Nawab's widow to condole her. The male members of the cavalcade were shown round the city. The good order in the city, the up-to-date fortifications and the numerous artillery were subjects of praise and admiration.[1]

In token of appreciation forthe grand reception given to his mother amd his wife and relations the Nawab sent out gifts from Vellore[2] consisting of 2 satin clothes in gold,a roll of net embroidered with flowers, a silk turban, a waist belt, a girdle with twelve diamonds and a head ornament called a toray, embossed with twenty four diamonds, twenty seven pearls, and two big rubies. It was inlaid on all sides with two rows of small rubies and from the top suspended a huge pearl.[3] The presents were received with great ceremony by the members of the council and guns were fired when it was brought to the Governor's house.

Peace had in the meanwhile been secured at an enormously heavy price; but prosperity did not follow peace. The invasion of the Mahrattas broke entirely the spirit and moral of the Nawab 's forces. The Nawab kept himself closely secluded behind the walls of Vellore doing ~~nothing~~ react to nothing towards the establishment of a stable Government in the country.[4] Absence of any central authority consequently created great anarchy and confusion in the province

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1. The description is based on Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.124; Mémoire sur les dernières Guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, VIII, pp. 183-84; Lettre du pere Lagues a Madame de saint Hyacinthe de Suaveterre le 18 Jamvier 1741, Ibid., p. 55;Abbé Guyon, Hiatoire des Indes Orientales, III, Pp.288 to 290.

2. On 7th July 1740.

3. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.125.

4. Letter from Fort St. George d/13-6-1740 to Thomas Braddyll Governor of Fort St. William. Letters from Fort St. George 1740, Appendix, p. 12.

and the minor Poligars rose autup in open rebellion, burning and plundering the surrounding ~~the~~ country.[1] So weak had the Nawab's authority become that he was compelled to take emergent measures to get himself properly constituted as the "Nabob and Subah of the province." He deputed ~~Emaum~~ Imaum Sahib to hurry up to Nasir Jung's court and try and obtain from him the proper sanads, which would proclaim him in the eye of the world, as the lord of the Carnatic and the rightful successor ~~of~~ to Nawab Dost Ali Khan.[2] At the same time that he was eager to see himself rightly acknowledged as the sovereign lord of the Carnatic, he was taking steps to provide himself against any unforeseen irruption of the Mahrattas. No doubt the Mahrattas had retired from th e country, but there was no knowing when they would swoop down on the plains of Carnatic once again. The fear that lurked in most minds of a second irruption of the Mahrattas found support in the fact that they were encamped only a very short distance from Arcot. From Vellore the Nawab shifted temporarily towards the beginning of August 1740 to Ginjee. Here he ordered all the ~~trees in the~~ which weakened the defense to be pulled down.[3] A hundred pioneers were were taken into service and numerous labourers employed to cut down trees for the manufacture of gun-powder.[4] The forts were garrisoned with a picked force of 3000 soldiers as on his own

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1. Letter from Fort St. George d/20-6-1740 to Stephen Law, Governor of Bombay: Ibid. Appendix, p.18.

2. Letter from Imaum Saheb at Joar Bunder, received June 29,1740: Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740,No.45,p.22

3. Letter from Raventoola Andiapah Vakeel at Ginjee Received August 14, 1740: Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence 1740, p.24, No. 59.

4. Ibid.

pathan troops the Nawab could scarcely rely, they having openly declared their unwillingness to serve under a master who paid them not handsomely nor regularly.[1]

We left Chanda Sahib on his way to Trichinopoly, where he had retired immediately on receipt of information of the defeat of the late Nawab at the Battle of Canamay. Arrived at Trichinopoly he summoned all his forces, quatered in several parts of the kingdom, with a view to raise a considerable army to defend with Safdar Ali's co-operation the honour of Islam and to retrieve the lost glory of the Nawabs of the Carnatic.[2] But when he was about to execute his designs and his brother Bada Sahib had arrived as far as Madura from Tennevelly news was received that the new Nawab had concluded peace and that the Mahrattas had left the province. There was now nothing to apprehend from the enemy quaters and ordering his army to retire once more to their posts, Chanda Sahib repaired to Arcot to condole the new Nawab and his relations on the late misfortunes and to offer his own personal homage.[3]

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1. Ibid,

2. Letter from Chanda Sahib received September 18,1740: Ibid., p. p.30, No.74.

3. Ibid., According to Orme, Chanda Sahib dreaded a treacherous move on the part of Safdar Ali and this made him keep aloof at Trichinopoly. It was only when he learnt that the Nawab's power had been completely impaired that he dared to come to Arcot to pay homage .- Orme, History of the Military Transactions I, p. 43.

The chivalrous act of Dumas had not fallen on an ungrateful soil. Safdar Ali remembered too well the timely assistance the little French colony at Pondicherry had afforded to his and his father's family. The simple yet so hazardous an act could not be recompensed by a few presents and nobody realised this fact more than Safdar Ali. He determined to visit Pondicherry in person and thank the French Governor Dumas for his noble action. He was quickened in this desire by the messages of his mother, who praised the treatement she received at the hands of the French[1], and at the

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1. Abbe Guyon, Histoire des Indes Orientales, III, p. 333-35. - Safdar Ali wrote to Governor Dumas on the occasion "Ma mère et Aly Naky Saheb m'ont ecrit. J'ai sçu par leurs lettres les grandes faveurs et les honneurs que vous leur avez faits qui sont tels qu'ils ont surpassé tout ce qu'on pouvait attendre de votre amitié. Ma mère est penetrée au dernier point des graces et des honneurs qu'elle reçu de vous; ce qui a rempli mon cœur d'une joie que je ne puis vous exprimer ------------nous avons toujours été bons amis jusqu'à present, mais dans la suite, en consideration de toutes que vous avez eues pour ma mere, il faut nous regarder desormais comme frère et que votre cœur ait toutes les fortification qu'il peut desirer avec le secours de dieu, je ne manquerai jamais au respect et a l'amitie qu'un frère doit à un frere. Il faut que vous pensiez que tous mes biens et tous mes terres sont à vous. En signe d'amitiee, je vous envoie un serpau et deux joyaux garnis de pierres precieuses, que je vous prie que porter a votre tête; le tout vous sera remis par Mir Goulam, Quand vous l'aurez reçu ce faudra me faire le plaisir de m'en marquer la reception. Ibid. p. 336-337.

same time earnestly longed for the presence of her son to comfort her in her recent sad bereavements[1]. Chanda Sahib who was with the Nawab at Ginjee accompanied him on this occasion to Pondicherry.

On the 31st. of August the Nawab started from Ginjee in company of Chanda Sahib, Hussein Khan Tahir and other great men, with an army of 2500 horse and 5000 foot. They encamped one night on the way and leaving much of the army and baggage there, they proceeded for Pondicherry with only 100 horse, about 50 palanquins and 200 foot soldiers.[2] The news of their impending arrival reached Pondicherry early on the 1st, September. The state of exitement in which the settlement was thrown is best left to the imagination of the readers, for, in fact, no tangible records exist to describe the feelings of the people or of the important officials on this occasion. Every imaginary preparations were made. The western gate of the city was lavishly decorated and a pavilion erected to the North. A great part of the garrison with the ~~soldiers~~ sailors of his majesty's ships in uniform, stood at the gates and the walls of the town. The streets were sprinkled with water. Plantain trees handsomely decorated, heightened the effects of the scene. The pavilion was occupied by the wives of the officials and other European ladies. In a tent close by set the Governor and his Council. Three members of the Council Mm. Le Gou, Dulaurens and Signard with a company of one hundred ahd fifty soldiers, accompanied by country music and dancing women, marched in ~~com~~imposing array as far as Reddy Pollum, 3 miles west of Pondicherry and met the visitors there. The Nawab arrived at Valdavur at 6-30 P.M. Dumas

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1. Ibid., P. 338.
2. Letter from Raventoola Andiapah, spy at Nawab's camp at Pondicherry, received August 27, 1740. Redcords Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740, p.27, No.67.

accompanied by his guards went out to receive him. On the Nawab's alighting from his palanquins, the two embraced each other, amidst ostentatious display of tenderness and friendship. Hand in hand, they walked up to the tent with the cannons beaming forth their salute. After a very short stay in the tent, they entered the palanquins and arrived at the house which had been set apart for the mother and wife of the Nawab in the public gardens.[1] After a couple of days devoted to lamentations and the celebration of the late Nawab's funeral,[2] the Nawab paid on the 4th a visit of state to Governor Dumas. The visit was scheduled to take place at 4 P.M. From 2 P.M. all the gates were closed and the soldiers were assembled and marshalled opposite the Governor's house. When the Nawab arrived accompanied by the deputy Governor with Indian music and dancing women, Dumas received him most pompously and the garrison presented arms.[3] Having remained for some time in the room of state, he was conducted, at his own request, to a separate room, where he could have personal talk with Dumas alone. Francisco Pereira of the Karikal fame acted as interpreter. The Nawab thanked the French Governor repeatedly for the shelter afforded to his family and assured him that neither he nor his children would ever forget the service and that Dumas might consider himself as much the Lord of the Carnatic as himself.[4] The words may have been "merely the expression of the oriental form of gratitude" but

1. This description is based on Ibid., Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, 130-131, Abbe Guyon, Histoire des Indes Orientales, Ancienne et moderne, III, pp.338-340, and Memoire sur les dernières guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p.185.
2. Letter from Chanda Sahib received 18-9-1740: Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740, p. 30, No.74; also Abbé Guyon, Histoire des Indes Orientales, III, p.341.
3. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p. 131-132.
4. Abbe Guyon, Histoire des Indes Orientales, III, p.341.

the Nawab immediately afterwards afforded a practical proof of his esteem by conferring upon Dumas personally lands to the South Pondicherry[1] yielding a yearly revenue of 10,000 rupees, addeded to which, was a very magnificent present, at once flattering and honourable, namely the complete suit of armour belonging to his father, Nawab Dost Ali Khan.[2]

While the Nawab was away from his capital strange development were daily taking place in the country. The petty poligars with no master to check their activities rose up in open rebellion everywhere. At Arcot a revolt was afoot. One Horasat Khan claiming to have received orders from Delhi was entertaining forces to make an attack on the Fort of Arcot.[3] The news was alarming in the extreme. It was imperative that such revolts be nipped in the bud and Safdar Ali Khan, when he heard of it, made immediate preparations to set out from Pondicherry. Chanda Sahib, who, it was originally intended should return to his country capital at Trichinopoly also accompanied the Nawab. The departure from Pondicherry was not as public as the arrival. On the 17th September the guns from the ramparts announced that the Nawab and his brother-in-law had started on their return journey to Arcot.[4] There they arrived none too soon to stifle the seeds of dissension and the revolt was put down.[5]

One of the terms of peace with the Mahrattas was the

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1. According to the French Records the lands comprised the villages of Tedouvanatam, Archivauk, Odiampet, Tricangy and Cotta Coupam to the South of Pondicherry.- Archives de l'Inde Francaise, Lettres et Conventions 1666 a'1793, pp.142-144, 146-148.
2. Malleson, History of the French in India, p.89.-£25,000 according to Guyon.
3. From Shamrove Vakeel at Arcot September 9, 1740: Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence 1740, p.28, NO.70.
4. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.134.
5. Letter from Chanda Sahib to the Company d/ 18-9-1740: Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 79, p. 30, no. 74.

evacuation of the territories of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. The Nawab and Chanda Sahib who were apperently reconciled soon quarrelled over the treaty which Safdar Ali had entered into with the Mahrattas. After their arrival at Arcot from Pondicherry the Nawab informed Chanda Sahib that the surrender of Trichinopoly had been agreed upon in lieu of the Mahrattas foregoing seven lacks of rupees, of the total indemnity of thirty two lacks.[1] Highly incensed at that he should not have been consulted when the treaty was made, Chanda Sahib let the Nawab understand that he knew full well how to transact his own business and that in no way would he be a party to the treaty.[2] He refused to give up Trichinopoly and Safdar Ali evidently was not in a position to contradict his decision.[3] High words passed between the two brothers-in-law and Chanda Sahib left Arcot without taking leave of the Nawab. The refusal of Chanda Sahib to part with Trichinopoly and his sudden departure indicated too clearly that there was something wrong, and it was a signal for a second invasion of the Mahrattas. While on his way Chanda Sahib appealed to the English to send him a hundred khandies of lead and an equal quantity of gun-powder via Porto Novo, as Trichinopoly was destitute of warlike provisions and the Mahrattas were at any moment expected to invest the place.[4] It was a matter of fact that during the first Mahratta

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1. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company, d/26-9-1741: Despatches to England, 1741-42, Appendix, p.29.
2. Ibid., p.30.
3. Memoire sur les dernieres guerres des mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, VIII, p.186.
4. Letter from Chanda Sahib d/18 September 1740: Country Correspondence1740, p.30, No.74.

invasion Trichinopoly had been amply provisioned, but as Chanda Sahib himself explained the greater part of ammunitions and provisions he had, had been sent to Bada Sahib, his brother at Madura to enable the latter to put down the disturbances raised by the petty poligars in that part of the country.[1]

The Mahrattas had been in the meanwhile encamped at Sivgunga, 250 miles North-West of Trichinopoly.[2] While the main army remained there ostensibly waiting for the payment and the execution of the other articles of the treaty Raghoji Bhonsle, the general retired to Satara[3] to endeavour to prevent Balaji Baji Rao's succession as Peshwa. But failing in the attempt, he returned and joined the army. The Nawab had tried to fulfil the

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1. Ibid., Orme and Wilks state otherwise. They tell us that as soon as Chanda Sahib was advised that the Mahrattas had quitted the province imagining that they were meditating expeditions to other provinces, he sold off his provisions and ammunitions. (see Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.43; Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p.252-253.) The statements of Orme and Wilks appear to be highly improbable. Chanda Sahib had no other place than Trichinopoly for shelter; he realised too well the enmity that the Nawab and his Diwan bore him, he saw too plainly the revolutionary state of the country to sell off his grains and ammunitions and put himself at the mercy of the first army that came to attack him.

2. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, II, p.252. Sivganga forms a mountainous tract in Mysore. See Rice, Mysore and Coorg, I, Pp.9and 11. An attempt is made by Nelson to identify the place, where the Mahrattas had retired, to Sivagangei in the Trichinopoly destrict; but needless to say that his arguments are not convincing nor in the least correct.

3. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p.421.

the terms of the treaty as far as it lay in his power,[1] but he was not able to meet his engagements on account of the ruined state of his country and his empty treasury.[2] Thus incapiciated from satisfying the Mahrattas, he procrastinated the fulfilments of his obligations. The Mahrattas enraged at this attitude made pressing demands for the money[3], threatening to invade the province, if their demands were not immediately complied with. Frightened at this determined attitude the Nawab is stated[4] to have sold all his precious stones and to have sent the Mahratta general all the money he could collect. At the same time by ~~none~~ means of money and promises, he engaged them to leave him at peace and to turn their forces against Trichinopoly.[5] Apart from the invitation the Mahrattas received from the Nawab, the Hindu powers of the South headed by Tanjore,[6] ~~from the Nawab~~ who,

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1. In August he sent a lac of rupees in part payment of the promised sum. Letter from Ravetoola Andiapa at Gingee dated Aug. 21, 1740. Records of Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740, p. 25, No. 63.

2. Memoirs sur les derniers guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p. 186.

3. Letter from Ravetoola Andiapa, Received 27-9-1740. Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence 1740, p. 31, No. 76.

4. Memoirs sur les Derniers Guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p. 186.

5. Ibid. A letter from Fort St. George to the Company of 26-9- 1741 states that the Nawab had promised to pay the Mahrattas a large sum monthly till such time as Trichinopoly should surrender and "the supply of provisions they sent to the Moratta Camp and other circumstances make it but too probable the destruction of Chanda Sahib was what they (the Nawab and the Prime-minister) had much at heart." (Despatches to England, 1741-42, Appendix p. 30. ~~180~~ Raventoola Andiapa also attributes the Mahratta expidition to "the Nawab's covetousness" (Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740, p. 24, No. 59.)

6. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/26-9-1741, Despatches to England 1741-42, Appendix p. 30 Grant Duff (History of the Mahrattas, II, p. 422) is uncertain whether the Tanjore state wanted to avert the attack of the Mahrattas or afford them assistance. Needless to state that it was the latter which is also so, according to the Madura MSS. see V. Rangachari, History of the Naik Kingdom of Madura, The Indian Antiquary, 1917, p. 242.

hastening to renounce the Musalman yoke and rally round the invaders, made the way clear for Raghoji Bhonsle. The deposed Raja of Mysore, it is said,[1] offered them 50 lacs of rupees if they would only kill Chanda Sahib and resettle the Hindu Régime in the kingdom of Trichinopoly. The Poligars of Marrava and Tondeman are said to have raised an army of five thousand horse and fifty thousand foot to assist the Mahrattas in their designs.[2] Obsessed by enmity on all hands, Chanda Sahib offered 7 lacs of rupees, but if the Mahrattas were ~~not Mahrattas~~ we not prepared to accept the sum he was ready to see them out.[3]

In December the Carnatic was once more struck with consternation at the arrival of the Mahrattas. Noble families migrated to places of safety. The Nawab himself made preparations for a defence at Arcot, but permitted those who were afraid to stay to make themselves secure whereever convenient, till matters were settled.[4]

The Mahratta force was at this time estimated at 70,000 cavalry and 55,000 infantry, 50 elephants, 600 camels and more than 20,000 bullocks.[5] Arrived at the borders of Trichinopoly, they however agreed to quit for a payment of 7 lacs of rupees[6], which

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1. Letter from OOrgunta Ramah, spy at Arcot, dated 5-12-1740. Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1740, p. 47, No. 116.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Madras Diary d/3-11-1740. Diary and Consul, Book, 1740, Appendix, p. 83-84.
5. Memoires sur les Derniers Guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p. 186.
6. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/ 26-9-1741: Despatches to England, 1741-42, Appendix, p. 29.

sum being refused, they advanced to the capital . The capital was not immediately attacked, but the place was completely invested, making it impossible for any succour to get in.[1] The force at the disposal of Chanda Sahib was barely 2,000 horse,[2] and the greatest handicap was scarcity of provisions. Finding himself greatly distressed Chanda Sahib offered 12 lacs of rupees if the Mahrattas would leave him alone.[3] Accounts disagree as to the exact nature of this transaction. According to the English account,[4] which is more reliable, "it was thought the Mahrattas would have accepted of his Offer, the rather because Futta Sing was beleived to favour Chanda Sahib and had often sent to Raghaji Bosala either to take the town or the money, and threatened to draw off the forces which were more particularly under his command. Chanda Sahib's partisans affirmed for some days that the treaty was absolutely concluded..... Subderally Cawn was so alarm'd ~~that~~ about the treaty which was on foot, that he shut himself up in Chingee, and from thence wrote to the two generals complaining of their breach of faith; at the same time the king of Tanjore and the Tributary Princes who had assisted them took their Images out of the Pagodas, and abjured them by all their Gods not to leave them Exposed to the resentment of Chanda Sahib. In fine the Treaty

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1. Ibid.
2. Memoirs sur les dernières Guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p.187.
3. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/26-9-1741: Despatches to England, 1741-42, Appendix, p.30.
4. Ibid., p.31.

was broke off, and Chanda Sahib told, that they would agree to no peace that should leave him in the possession of Tritchanopoly." According to the second account[1], written some years after the event, "Chanda Sahib opened negotiations offering ten 10 lakhs but these failed, as Ragoji would have 30 lacs, if they were to go away leaving Trichinopoly in his possession. 10 lacs would, he, said, be the price of his (Chanda Sahib's) liberty alone." However it may be, the negotiations broke off and the siege was prolonged.

It was at the commencement of this siege that the Mahrattas learning that the women and children of the Nawab and those of the principal officers were at Pondicherry, with the best of the treasures, formed the idea of making themselves masters of the place. This resolution was followed by several letters from Raghoji Bhonsle full of reproaches and threats. He demanded that the French should deliver up the treasures and the family of the Nawab and Chanda Sahib, as well as ~~the arre-~~ pay up the arrears of tribute "owing since 40 years," and amounting to the enormous sum of 6000,000 rupees.[2] To these demands Dumas paid scant attention. He took, however, great precautions to fortify Pondicherry . Huge walls were built round about the town, old fortifications were strengthened and wherever necessary new ones were built; the town was stored with grains and ammunitions and all the inhabitants were put under arms.[3] Special massemgers were despatched to the Isles of France and Bourbon

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1. Memoirs sur les Dernieres Guerres ~~aux~~ des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p. 193

2. Ibid. Also, Abbe Guyon, Histoires des Indes Orientales, III, pp. 306-307.

3. Ibid., pp 295-26.

requesting the transmission of as great a force as could be spared to supplement the samll garrison in the town.[1] At the same time that Pondicherry was being quietly prepared to meet the invaders, Dumas replied to Raghoji's threats. The protection that the French had offered to the family of the Nawab, he said, was in virtue of the friendly treatment the French nation had always received at the hands of the Nawabs of the Carnatic, and that it would have been the height of cowardice and ingratitude on his part to refuse them the shelter. He refused point blank to deliver up the distressed family. "The wife of Chanda Sahib is in Pondicherry under the protection of the king of France, and all Frenchmen in India will perish before we consent to betray her."[2] At the same time that the French settlement was threatened, the English at Madras received similar threats of an attack unless a large sum was paid down.[3] Governor Benyon was, like the French Governor Dumas, prepared to meet the invaders. Steps were immediately taken to put Madras in the best posture of defense, Fortifications were strengethened, the inhabitants put under arms, houses and gardens which weakened the defence were pulled down and men were landed from the Europe ships to strengthen the garrison.[4]

The threats, the Mahratta general offered, were not long in materialising. While still before Trichinopoly, he despatched a force of about twelve thousand horse to advance along the coast on a sort of a rowing commission. On December 25, Potto Novo, South

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1. Malleson, History of the French in India, p. 91
2. Abbe Guyon, Histoire des Indes Orientales, III, pp. 310-11.
3. Madras Diary 19-1-1741. Diary and Consul. Book, 1741, Appendix p. 85
4. Madras Diaries d/19-1-1741 and 23-2-1741, Ibid., Appendix., pp. 85.

of Pondicherry was attacked and given up to plunder.[1] They moved north upon Gudalur, an English settlement, and pillaged it in spite of the guns of ~~the~~ Fort St. David.[2] While one body was plundering and harassing the people round about Cuddalore, anothe detachement moved towards Sadras and Pondicherry was almost threatened. In the course of these demonstrations threats were offere that the whole Mahratta force would be directed against Pondiche unless Dumas gave up the treasures and family of Chanda Sahib. Steadfast in his refusal Dumas replied:" France our country produces neither mines of gold nor mines of silver. We have came t this foreign land to carry on peaceful trade, We produce nothing besides Iron and Soldiers which we employ against those who dare to attack us unjustly."[3] Almost laconic was the retort of Raghoj " That is all very fine, but you must know we have ~~ha~~ with us hammers and other instruments to reduce your iron, which once it is heated would require for us half an hour's time to shape and use in the best manner we like."[4] Nothing came out of the threa except that Ulougaret and Arian-Copang, villages bordering on Pondicherry were pillaged after which the Mahrattas retired and fell upon Conimeer and Sadras.[5]

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1. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p. 139 . The 25th o December is the correct date ;also according to Memoirs sur Les Dernieres Guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p. 191.

2. Ibid., p. 192

3. Letter of Governor Dumas to Raghoji Bhonsle, Archives de L'Inde Francaise, Lettres et Conventions 1666 a 1793, p. 156

4. Letter from Raghoji Bhonsle to Governor Dumas d/3-2-1741. Ibid., p. 162

5. Memoirs sur les Dernieres Guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, p. 193.

In the meanwhile Trichinopoly was reduced to the last extremities. The siege had been prosecuted most vigorously and although it had lasted for a longer time than was anticipated, it appeared the Mahrattas were resolved not to retire without taking the place. Although reduced to the brink of starvation, the garrison held out bravely, but by the middle of March it was strongly rumoured,[1] they would make a final sally and die fighting to the last in preference to surrender. Chanda Sahib appealed to his brother Bada Sahib at Madura to hasten to his assistance[2] and wrote to Safdar Ali[3] to treat with the Mahrattas for his deliverance. Bada Sahib advanced to the relief of his brother with about 3,000 horse and 7,000 foot[4] but the Mahrattas aware of his movements closed up all the avenues leading to the fort which made it well-nigh impossible to penetrate their lines. A hot engagement ensued near Dindigul, where a ccording to Pillai's account[5] the Mahrattas suffered a reverse; although a Jesuit writer[6] states that the forces under Bada Sahib were overwhelmed by the great number of the enemy. Animated by a desire to help his brother, Bada Sahib with the remnant of his army[7] moved his camp seven miles west of Trichinopoly where he encamped on 20-3-1741.[8] The Mahrattas invested the Camp with

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1. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.156.
2. Letter from Fort St.George to the Company d/26-9-1741, Despatches to England 1741-42, Appendix, p.32.
3. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.157.
4. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.44. Orme's figure cannot however be taken as strictly correct- but no two historians seem to agree.
5. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.159.
6. Memoire sur les dernieres guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Letters edifianted et curieuses, VIII, p.194.
7. Estimated at 4,000 men.
8. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.160.

10,000 men. Bada Saheb and his little army drunk with bhang rushed upon the enemy with great fury. A fearful battle ensued which lasted for nine hours. The carnage was terrible on either side; but the superior number of the Mahrattas atlast told.[1] In spite of their glorious effort, the small Muhammedan force was almost annihilated. It is estimated that about 2000 men fell on each side;[2] The battle proved fatal to Bada Saheb. He lost his life, together with that of his brother Saduck Sahib in the engagement. His body which was found on the battle field covered with twenty two wounds was brought to the Mahratta camp. Raghoji Bhonsle, it is said,[3a] wept over the fate of the gallant general, and sent the body covered with the richest dress in a palanquin to Chanda Sahib at Trichinopoly for the last obsequies.[3]

Bada Sahib's attempt to relieve his brother had failed. The Maharattas pressed the siege hard from all quarters. Struck with dismay at the death of his brother and finding no manner of relief from any quarter, Chanda Sahib atlast thought of giving himself up. It is said,[4] the Maharattas at this stage, agreed to take eight lacks of rupees as the price of Chanda Sahib's freedom, but that when ambassadors were sent to Chanda Sahib's wife "the good lady pretending a distrust answer'd that she had not so

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1. Ibid,
2. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company. d/6-9-1741: Despatches to England 1741-42: Appendix, p.32.
3. (a) Memoire sur les dernieres guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales (Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, VIII, p.197; also Abbe Guyon, Histoire des Indes Orientales, III, p.318.
   3. Ibid., Also Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.160. According to Orme (History of the Military transactions, I, p.44) Bada Saheb's head was cut off and presented to Chanda Sahib.
4. Letter from Fort St. George d/26-9-1741 to the Company: Despatches to England 1741-42, Appendix, p.33. Memoire sur les dernieres guerres des Mores aux Indes states that Chanda Sahib was offered freedom at a cost of a heavy ransom which however he could not pay.

much money by her or if she had would she part with it till she should see her husband? At midnight of the 26th of March, Chanda Sahib with his son Abid Sahib and his son-in-law Khan Bahaudur surrendered at discretion. On their arrival at the Maharatta camp they were disarmed and kept in custody.[1] Trichinopoly was invested and the Maharatta standard hoisted. It was for some time uncertain what the Maharatta would do with Trichinopoly. It was thought[2] they were inclined to hand it over to Bangaru Tirumala, the pretender to the kingdom of Madura, and one of the native chronicles[3] describes a meeting between Bangaru Tirumala and the Maharatta general, Futteh Singh whereby the former was restored to his kingdom on a payment of 30 lacks of rupees. Bangaru Tirumala was however, according to the English account, unable to afford proper security for the money he offered and Morari Rao was left at Trichinopoly with four thousand horse till he received further orders from the capital.[4] The same English account, further states that Morari Rao had orders to pay the annual tribute to the Nawabs of the Carnatic, as had been usually paid by the rulers of Trichinopoly; but this fact, if true, proved all the more that Morari Rao was left only in the temporary command of Trichinopoly till such time as Bangaru Tirumala should be crowned king. Having thus settled the Government of Trichinopoly the bulk of the Maharatta army took the western road through Mysore, while the two generals, Futteh Singh and Raghogi Bhonsle

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1. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.161-162.
2. Letter from Fort St. George d/26-9-1741 to the Company. Despatches to England, 1741-42, Appendix, p.33.
3. Referred to by V. Rangachari, The History of the Naik Kingdoms of Madura, The Indian Antiquary, 1917, p.243.
4. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company. d/26-9-1741: Despatch es to England 1741-42, Appendix, P. 33-34.

moved with the rest of the army along the coast, stayed for a couple of days near Gingee which had become the temporary residence of the Nawab and then marching northwards passed the river Kishna on the way to their own country.[1] This was towards the end of May. Chanda Sahib and his son Abid Sahib were carried away as prisoners of war to be confined at Satara.

The affairs with the Maharattas formed in its heroic simplicity, one of the most glorious episodes in the French colonial history. The cool courage and resolute defiance which Governor Dumas exhibited on the occasion created a far-reaching impression on the people and the princes of the South. Hitherto the Europeon powers had been looked upon with scant respect and nobody, much less they themselves realised their latent strength. The cringing attitude of submission which they always exhibited before the least ostentatious display of power on the part of the native princes could not but be regarded as a sign of weakness. Things had now however altered. Nizam-ul-mulk wrote Dumas letters of thanks and transmitted to him, at the same time, a dress of honour.[2] Nawab Safdar Ali Khan displayed once again his mark of esteem and friendship, praised Dumas' valour and sent him gifts.[3] He further invested Dumas with the rank of a Nawab, with the title of Mansabdar of 4500 horse, 2000 of whom could form his retinue even in time of peace. This right was later confirmed by the Emperor of Delhi. Before he retired Dumas induced the Nawab to make the right hereditary in the successive Governors of Pondicherry.[4]

The departure of the Maharattas did not establish any relative peace. in the Carnatic. The year 1740 revealed singularly the military and two political impotence of the Nawab.

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(1). Ibid. (2). Guyon, Histoire des Indes Orientales, III, p.332-33.
(3). Ibid., p.351. (4). Ibid., pp. 354-355.

The province was reduced to a state of anarchy. The Nawab lacked means wherewithal to pay the army and consequently lacked authority wherewithal to command respect and obedience. The pay of the soldiers had run in arrears,[1] but they had to be paid which could only be done by reduwing the military establishment.[2] The soldiers whose services were dispensed with joined the minor lords, who, masters in their own fortresses, claimed to entrench upon the suzerainity of the Nawab.[3] As long as the Maharattas remained in the country the Nawab shifted his residence from Vellore to Ginjee and from Ginjee back to Vellore. Arcot as capital was of little or no importance. It was not expected to afford shelter against an invasion as that of the Maharattas. Soon after the Maharattas had retired however, the Nawab returned to Arcot with his family, whom he had sent for from Pondicherry towards the middle of January 1741.[4] Personally the Nawab was incapable of creating order out of chaos. He lacked the genius to rule. He depended implicitly on his minister Assad Khan, "a man of strong parts bold and resolute" whom he considered the most likely to extricate him from the difficult situation in which he was placed.[5] Money was what the Nawab most lacked; but the means adopted to raise

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1. The arrears amounted to four hundred thousand Pagodas. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company.d/26-9-1741; Despatches to England 1741-1742, Appendix, p.35.

2. Records Fort St. George: Country Correspondence,1740,p.48,No119.

3. Letter from The French Company at Pondicherry to the Company in France d/1-10-1741, referred to by Abbe Guyon, Histoire des Indes Orientales,III, p.331.

4. They started fromPondicherry for Arcot on 16-1-1741: Ananda Ranga Pillai, Priva te Diary,I, p.146.

5. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company. d/26-9-1741: Despatches to Engla nd 1741-42, Appendix,p.35.

funds disgusted the nobles and the subjects alike;[1] for everybody ~~that was in power~~ was, without scruples compelled to contribute to, what might be called, the price of the Mahratta invasion.

Added to his many difficulties there remained the fear of Nizam-ul-mulk to whom the Nawab owed large arrears of tribute. Though confirmed in the government of the Carnatic on the 20th, September 1740 under the title of Sadatula Khan,[2] Safdar Ali Khan was not in very good books with the Nizam. He was soon convinced that a storm would break upon him from those quarters and as a matter of precaution he was induced to send his family and treasures to Madras giving preference to the English by the advice of Meer ASsad Khan,[3] who, it is said, already suspected the connections between Chanda Sahib and Dupleix.[4] At the same time, it was given out, perhaps with the idea of favourably impressing the Nizam[5] or perhaps on account of some "family quarrel"[6] that the Nawab intended to make a pilgrimage to Mecca a nd there spend the remainder of his days in devotion at the tomb of the prophet.

At midnight of the 21st September 1741, Madras was disturbed in its slumbers by the arrival of the mother, wife and the child of the Nawab Safdar Ali Khan with numerous female

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1. Ibid., Orme's statement (History of the Military Transactions I, p 45) that the poverty the Nawab pleaded was a pretension appears to be a statement of convenience to suit his story.
2. Records Fort George, Country Correspondence 1740, p.31, No. 76 Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, p.280, errs in stating that the Nawab Safdar Ali was never confirmed.
3. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p. 45.
4. It will be seen in subsequent pages that Dupleix was mainly responsible for the freedom of Chanda Sahib some years later.
5. Ibid.
6. Letter from Gort St. George to the Companyd/26-9-1741. Despatches to England 1741-42, Appendix, p. 34.

attendants, under an escort of two hundred soldiers accompanied by Indian music.[1] The next day afternoon witnessed the state entry of the Nawab himself. He was met at the limits of the town by Mr. Monson, Captain Holland and two hundred soldiers which, to-gather with his own retinue of 38 horse and 100 soldiers, made a grand procession. The citizens of Madras arrayed in their best followed the procession from Triplicane bridge and made the scene more lively.[2] The Nawab "a fine man in person" clad in rich dress with pearls and diamonds cut a most beautiful figure and was an object of admiration, specially for the gentler sex, who turned out in great numbers to have a peep at him.[3] The Governor, attended by the Council and most of the European attendants, met him at the Fort Gate when the guns from the ramparts boomed forth the salute. From the Fort Gate the procession proceeded to the Consultation Room, where, after about an hour's stay, the Nawab was conducted to the house reserved for his reception. The next day the Governor with his Council and the Captain of the Guards waited on him at his house and conversed with him for the best part of an hour. A gift of one hundred and one gold mohurs in a silver Philligree was offered, but the Nawab accepted only one of them.[4]

During the period that the Nawab stayed in the town, the petty governors under him were daily arriving in Madras to pay their compliments to their suzerain. The reception accorded to the Nawab

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1. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/26-9-1741. Despatches to England, 1741-42, Appendix p. 36.
2. Ibid
3. Letter from a lady at Madras, 1743, p 3
4. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/26-9-1741. Despatches to England, 1741-42, Appendix, p. 37.

was by no means on a grand scale. Governor Benjou realised this to his great chagrin but the Nawab made things easy for all by seeming not to notice the defect.[1] After a stay of about a fortnight, he started for Vellore[2], leaving his family behind him. It was a fine procession of palanquins that rumbled slowly through the gates of Madras. Before his final departure, however, the Nawab forwarded a beautiful present to the Governor in a large Philligree Silver box placed upon the back of a still more beautiful horse adorned in all manner of fine gold and velvet trappings. The present was brought in a procession of a thousand horse and foot.[3]

A few days later, the Governor's wife Lady Benjon, Lady Jane Smart and her two daughters Elizabeth and Jane and Mrs. Elizabeth Beard and her two daughters Mary and Elizabeth, paid a visit to the Nawab's wife who was staying in the Black town. We have a faithfully beautiful record of this visit preserved in a letter by Lady Jane Smart to her son in England. The freshness of the narrative as related by the lady would lose much of its beauty by any attempt on our part to relate the event without quoting in extenso from the lady's letter itself. Dressed in the best of everything, Mrs. Benjon looking"as fine as a queen", the ladies set out on the visit accompanied by numerous attendants, the procession being headed by the Governor's own band. On their arrival they were conducted through two large halls which opened into a large garden

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1. Ibid.
2. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, p. 281
3. A Letter from a Lady at Madras, 1743, p. 4.

at the end of which was a large pavilion. The pavilion was"large and spacious, all the botom covered with fine carpets and entirely engraved with Muslin Valens; at one end there stood the bed the Frame work and Pillars of which were of solid gold; and Gold Gauze Curtains with a rich counterpaine; and several fine dressing Tables with large Philligree Candlesticks upon them. At the entrance of the Pavilion was a long embroidered Carpet, with a Pillow of the same work at each End, which was opposite the Sattee the ladies sat on, for us to walk over." In the pavilion sat the Nawab's lady, in all the majesty of her looks and her dress. "Her person was thin, genteel and middle sized; her complex tawny, as the moors all are; her eyes as bla ck as possible, large aand fine, and painted at the edges,--- her lips painted red; and between every tooth which was fine and regular she was painted black, that they might look like Ebony. Her face was done over, like frosted work with leaf gold; The Nails of her Fingers and toes were painted red and likewise the middle of her hands. Her hair was black as jet, very long and thick, which was comed back neatly, then braided." The richness of her dress was lavishly charming. Clad in it the Nawab's lady looked more like a Fairy Queen than an earthly being. "She had a fillet of Diamonds below her Head, edged with Pearls of a large size. Her earings were as broad as the hand, made of Diamonds and Pearls so that they almost covered each side of her Face; then she ha d a nose -jewel that went through her left Nostril, Round her Neck she ha d twenty rows of Pearls,none smaller than a Pea, From her necklace there hung a great Number of Rows of Large Pearls, which came down below her Waist, at the End of which lay an Emeraldas large as the hand and as thick. Her coat which she had on was made of fine Gold-Muslin,

COLONIAL BOND MADE IN NORWAY

ma de close to her, and a slash'd sleeve. A Gold Veil which she hung carelessly over her head and went over her body, all the front pa rt of it was trimmed with a Row of Pearls. She ha d a girdle or rather a Hoop made of diamonds, which ent round the Bottom of her waist, which hung down almost to her Knees and great knots of Pearls at the end of them; ten Rows of large Pearls round her waist and ten Rows round her Arms a little above her Elbow, and her Fingers every one of them adorn'd with rich Rings of all sorts and sizes: Her Feet and Ancles were, if possible reacher and more adorn'd than her Hands and Arms."

Already the visitors thought themselves in a fairy land. But it was not till the Nawab's little son was brought before them that the fairy picture was completed. The child was "loaded with Gold, Pearls and Diamonds." The very fan that protected him from the sun, was four times as large as a fire screen made of Crimson Velvet all set in figures with Pearls and diamonds.

The enchanted visitors were entertained with tea and Beetel brought in "five Philligree Boxs ma de of gold, upon large scalloped silver waiters." They were finally presented each with a gold veil and a Moor's coat. Soon after they departed. In the Evening a sumptuous entertainment was received from the Nawab's lady of not than 60 dishes, all under silver covers and put up in scarlet cloth bags made for that purpose.

The Carnatic had now relapsed into a state of relative quiescence. The Nawab was content to remain at Ve llore, the killedari of his brother-in-law, Murtaza-Ali-Kha n, while his family were secure at Kakka Madras. From Ve llore he however, paid visits to Madras, of which we have on record three, one in February,

the second in May and the ~~last~~ last in August 1742.[1] These visits are devoid of any other interest apart from the one of exchange of gifts. The expenses the English were put to although not very enormous were fully requited by the grants received from the Nawab. A record of the presents made by the English both to the Nawab and his family amounted to nothing more than 3000 Pagodas;[1] in consideration of which they received a grant of the five villages of Ernavore, Sadian Copaung, Poodupaunk, Vapery and Perambore, another for the liberty of coining. Arcot rupees and Pagodas, a third for the lessening or taking off of duties on sundry goods and two more grants though of rather little importance.[2]

We have now to bring our narrative to the fateful month of October 1742. We have already referred to the Maharatta invasion of 1740 and while discussing the results of the invasion we adverted to the fact that the heavy contributions exacted by the Maharattas, combined with the unstable condition of the country and the threatened invasion of the Nizam-ul-mulk to exact his tributes, had in a manner obliged the Nawab to raise contributions from his subjects, which contributions we then named as "the price

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1. On the 29th of December 1741 gifts to the Nawab's lady and her child on the occasion of the feast of Ramzan; 700 pagodas; On 22nd February 1742 on the occasion of the Nawab's visit to St. Thome 1400 pagodas; on 3-5-1742 on Nawab's visit to Madras to initiate his son in the Book of Mahomet pagodas 209; and finally the visit in August 1742 when the gifts included 74 pairs of "Gilt sneaker with Moorish characters."
2. Appendix, pp. 98 to 105. The grants are dated November 1742 about a month after the Nawab's murder. But there is little doubt that they are from Nawab Safdar Ali Khan. The grants are headed as "Sunods under the seal of Nabob Sadatulla Cawn Bahauder Soobah of Arcot," the court title of Nawab Safdar Ali Khan. This is affirmed by the list of "Phirmaunds" delivered by Pauper Braminy. See Appendix, pp. 137-140.

of the Maharatta invasion." The commanders of the Forts and the towns had been similarly assessed in sums proportioned to their incomes to enable the Nawab to discharge his obligations to the Maharattas.[1] Murtaza Ali Khan of Vellore was one of the killedars so assessed . This man was the nearest kinsman of the Nawab, both by marriage and consanguinity being both the brother-in-law and first cousin to him. The character of Murtaza Ali Khan was devoid of any finer traits. As Orme would state,[2] "there was no quality in the composition of Mortiz-ally's mind capable of stopping his hand from the perpetration of any crime by which his avarice, ambition or revenge could be gratified; he was indeed by many suspected of being deficient in courage as he never moved witout being surrounded by the guards; nor even ventured to taste anything that was not brought in a vessel that his wife had affixed her seal." Having afforded continuous shelter to the Nawab behind the walls of Vellore , he was sanguine that the latter would excuse him, his share of the Maharatta contributions, and he was flattered in his hopes, for the time being, by the unmindful attitude of the Nawab who seemed not to have noticed the arrears, as it is not improbable, that though "he held the pussilanimous character of his brother-in-law in contempt" he disliked speaking to him about the evasion perhaps in the hope that sooner or later better counsel would prevail. But Murtaza Ali evidently continued to evade the payment till, it is said,[3] the Nawab threatened to deprive him of

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1. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.46.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., Wilks refers to a similar fact and states that Mirtaza Ali committed the crime of murdering the Nawab because he was led to believe that Safdar Ali had applied to Nizam-ul-moolk to reverse his appointment of Killedar. See Wilks' Historical Sketches of South India, I, p.253 Note 2.

his government with orders from Nizam-ul-mulk, Picqued by the threat of the Nawab, there is little wonder if the evil mind of Murtaza Ali thought of revenge and murder.[1] There were not persons wanting to encourage him in his evil designs and the local governors of small forts equally desirous of deferring their payments, were not slow in extending their support, realising full well that by the removal of the Nawab they had nothing to lose but everything to gain. A confederacy was, it is said, soon afoot and Murtaza Ali was assured that Nizam-ul-mulk would condone an act which removed from his way a refractory noble, who always witheld his tributes to his overlord.[2]

But how was the murder to be contrived? The feast of Shah-i-Bharat afforded a golden opportunity to execute this purpose.[3] The Nawab had, on this occasion, allowed his servants to celebrate the festival with their own families, keeping only four persons of the retinue near him. Murtaza Ali determined not to lose the opportunity. Orme records two attempts on the life of the Nawab on the same night. An attempt by poison, failing which actual murder by weapon. He says that on the 2nd of October, (13th October)[4] the day after the Nawab's retinue had left him,

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1. All accounts agree in attributing the crime to Murtaza Ali Khan. We have besides the typical confession of the murderer on record, "From Nabob Murtaza Alley Cawn Bahaddur Killedar of, Vellore. I believe you are informed of what has passed here, you may be easy in your mind and take care of your business and government, I shall be at Arcot very shortly and settle the country. What can I say more?" 2.10.1742 Diary and Consultation Book, 1742, Appendix, p.94.

2. Ibid., also Grose, A Voyage to the East Indies, II, p.XVI.

3. D. Love, Vestiges of old Madras, II, p.284.

4. Orme's date is presumably here according to the old style. Converted to the new style it reads 13th, of October 1742- a date that is correct according to Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.202 who puts the melancholy event to the night of saturday the 13th October.

his victuals were poisoned ; but the strength of his constitution coupled with timely medical aid enabled the Nawab to combat successfully the evil effects of the poison; although he was much enfeebled. We have no other authority to corroborate Orme's evidence and in absence of corroborative facts, a great degree of care seems call@forth before we accept Orme's fact as an historical event. A man of the stamp of Murtaza Ali, whom Orme himself paints in the blackest hue, would, we take it as a fact, not undertake a business unless he was sure of his chances of success. He was not a man to take risks much less to jeopardise his own life, If he was not sure that the poison would not work, he would not administer the same. And when he knew that he had administered poison, it stands to reason to say, that he had exercised scrupulous care to treat his prey with a dose that would work and not one that would fail. Another fact we cannot overlook. Orme says, that timely medical aid came to the relief of Safdar Ali, If it was so, it was very imprudent of Murtaza Ali to allow of medical aid to reach the Nawab, who he intended should die of the poison administered.

Failing in his attempt to poison the Nawab, Murtaza Ali Khan, states Orme,[1] "proposed to some of his officers to put an end of the Nabob's life. It is said, all refused to serve him in the cruel commission except one, whose wife Safdar Ali had formerly debauched. This man put himself at the head of some abysinian slaves, and entered the Nawab's apartment at midnight: seven or eight persons slept in the same room with him, but these were scarcely awakened before they were disabled from making resistance. The Nabob himself instead of taking to his arms, attempted to escape through the window. The leaders of the assassins seized him before

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1. Orme's, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.48.

he could pass through and after upbraiding him with the injury of his adultery and exulting in the revenge he was now taking for it, killed him with ~~the~~ several stabs of the poignard;" Orme himself seems uncertain of the story of the abyssinian he relates, and the absence of any reference to the same in Pillai's account,[1] who simply states that the Nawab was stabbed to death when he was in a deep sleep at about 2 A.M., or in any other account, makes us doubt the correctness of Orme's version. Not content with the murder of the Nawab, the cool, calculating mind of Murtaza Ali Khan suggested the murder of his favourite minister Assad Khan. Messengers were despatched to Assad Khan, to inform him that Safdar Ali desired to see him urgently. Assad Khan not scenting any evil walked into the trap. He had hardly arrived when he was set upon by several said soldiers and dragged to Murtaza Ali, who was about to despatch him, when considerations of his ~~long~~ old age, his great virtues, his knowledge of financial obligations of the ~~sxtate~~ state and his political acumen pleaded on his behalf and he was spared. However he was relegated to confinement, with fetters ~~on~~ to his limbs and chains round his neck.[2]

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1. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.202.

2. Ibid., Also, Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.48.

CHAPTER VII.

A REVOLUTIONARY INTERLUDE.

The death of Nawab Safdar Ali Khan had occured under the most tragic circumstances. He had disillusioned himself in the belief that his throne was secure against rivals and that there would be no one to snatch the sceptre of authority from his hands. He had secured the removal of the only man he feared the most viz. Chanda Sahib at a great price and appeased the Marrattas at the cost of a heavy indemnity. There appeared to him now only one man left to be appeased namely the Nizam of the Deccan, whom he expected to satisfy at the least sign of danger. But Safdar Ali hardly realised the state of the country he was governing. Led by a false sense of security, he failed to notice the general feeling of discontent and indignation with which his rule was looked upon, both by the petty chiefs and the people. The Nawab was rather too apt to lean on his ministers and was unmindful of the work of consolidation and civil administration to which his attention ought to have been imperatively directed. The result was that when the blow was struck it came at the least expected moment and from the least expected quarters.

Murtaza Ali Khan had taken proper precautions to secure the fortress of Vellore in which the black deed was perpetrated. The gates of the fort were closed to outsiders and nobody save a chosen few were allowed the ingress.[1] The troops of the Nawab were outside the fort. It was represented to them by the emissaries of

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1. Orme: A History of the Military Transactions, I, p. 49

the Murtaza Ali that the death of the Nawab was a pure accident, the result of the resentment of some of the officers whom the Nawab had insulted. But Murtaza Ali's character was generally known to be looked upon with detestation. The soldiers were convinced of his guilt and threatened to storm the fort. The first ardour of loyalty, having, however, colled down to a certain extent by the imposing walls of Vellore and the consequential impossibility of carrying out their threats into execution, they were induced to listen to argument and reason. They were reminded of the arrears of tributes owing to them and assured them of their immediate repayment no sooner they declared themselves in favour of Murtaza Ali. Matters were soon accommodated. The soldiers and the officers , understanding only their immediate gains, forgot their loyalty to their late master and agreed to acknowledge the usurper as the Nawab of the Carnatic within two days of the murder.[1]

On Friday the 26th October[2] about nine in the morning , Murtaza Ali Khan, accompanied by the great part of his adherents, set out from Vellore to be proclaimed as the Nawab of the Carnatic at Arcot. The usurper made a state entry into the capital accompanied by his nobles and the "beat of the Nabut" Immediately on his arrival he went to a mosque, where, after offering prayers of thanksgiving he proceeded with his retinue to the House of State commonly known as the king's palace. He then occupied the vacant Masnad, "a square place in the hall richly adorned", and all

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1. Ibid.
2. Letter from the Vakil in the camp, received 18th (29th) Oct. 1742., Diary and Consul. Book, 1742, Appendix p.9597; also, Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p. 204.

the Khans, Killedars, Mansubdars, Jamdars and other officers of state gathered round him, paid their compliments and presented him with gold mohurs, as was usual on similar occasions. The Naubet was now beat three times and Muttaza Ali Khan was constituted the Subah and the Nawab of the Deccan province. The guns from the fort walls and the artillery announced the proclamation and at the same time the newly proclaimed Nawab distributed beetlenuts and rose-water to all persons present in honour of the occasion. The whole ceremony was over by 5 O'Clock in the evening.[1]

The news of the tragedy had not reached Madras till three[2] days after the event. Governor Benyon was awakened at 2 in the morning of the 16th by an Express from Poonamallee. Orders were immediately issued to double the guards and strictest watch was ordered to be kept on all individuals coming in and going out of the town gate. The uproar in the town naturally aroused the curiosity of the Nawab's family who were at Madras "but nobody cared to tell them the news"[3] Towards noon, letters were however, received from the Diwan of of Vellore and the relatives began to bewail the loss of the Nawab. The fort-flag was hoisted at half-mast and sixty guns were fired. The Governor, the members of his Council and others went in mourning, in a procession, and attended Church services. Mrs. Benyon paid a condolence visit to the Nawab's mother and his wife at their residence in the Black town.[4]

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1. Ibid.
2. Diary and Consul Book 1742, Appendix p. 94.
3. Ibid
4. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p. 205.

Mutaza Ali's triumph was however short lived. The revolution at Arcot did not long favour him, and as soon as the first agitations had subdided, the army showed signs of dissatisfaction at the usurpation. The commanders of the troops appealed to Morarari Rao, at Trichinopoly, who now openly declared against Murtaza Ali.[1] The friends of the late Nawab formed plans to effect a counter-revolution and appeals were made to the English to support the cause by continuing their hospitality to the young child of Safdar Ali Khan and his family.[2] Everything was now ready for the general revolt. The army en masse demanded all the arrears, surrounded the palace and made demonstration of a direct action. Murtaza Ali realised that the game was up, and that his short rule must now end. Terrified at the damnds of the soldiers, his pusillanimous mind dictated safety in flight. Clad in the garb of a woman, he escaped from Arcot to Vellore where he arrived in safety.[3]

The revolution followed by a counter-revolution removed all the semblance of authority. Everyone wished to usurp a part of the authority that formerly belonged to the Nawab and assume to himself whatever he happened to possess. Meer Assad secured his liberty from the Fort of Vellore and encamped at Veshudavur in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry., with 1000 men reinforced by a cavalry of 2000. Meanwhile, another force 5000

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1. Orme, History of the Military transactions, I, p. 50
2. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p. 205.
3. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p. 50
4. Lettre du pere Trembloy, Missionaire dans le royaume de Carnatc, a Monsieur..... Lettres Edifiantes et Cirieuses, VIII, p. 127

moved west of Assad Khan's position. The country round about was given up to plunder by the ill-disciplined soldiers, near whose ~~position the~~ depradations the havoc previously ~~committed~~ wrought by the Mahrattas sunk into oblivion.[1] In the midst of the general tumult Muhammad Syed Khan, the infant son of Safdar Ali was proclaimed Nawab under the guardianship of Taqui Saheb, the Governor of Wandivash[2] on December 31, 1742.[3] The young Nawab and his mother were soon after removed from Madras to Wandiwash. The boy's elevation was announced with great ceremony at Madras where a grand procession was held which went to the Garden House and back to the Black Town.[4] A compliment of forty-one gold Mohurs ~~were~~ was sent to the new Nawab on the occasion.[5]

The Nizam of the Deccan when he heard of the confusion in the Carnatic seemed greatly displeased. He was now freed from the disturbed politics at Delhi and on the representation of Imaum Saheb, a former minister of the late Nawab Dost Ali Khan, he considered this a favourable moment to exercise his authority in the Carnatic and to restore tranquility.[6] Apparently his natural desire was to castigate the Mahrattas for their late presumption[7] and to drive them out, if possible, from the assertion of supremacy over

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1. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, pp.209-210.
2. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.51.
3. Madras Diary and Consul.Book 1742, Appendix, p.97.
4. D,Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, p.284.
5. Madras Diary and Consul.Book 1742, Appendix p.97.
6. Memoire sur les dernieres guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, VIII, p.199.
7. Pillai (Private Diary, I, p.214) states that the object of the expedition was to transfer Trichinopoly to the Mysoreans.

a kingdom which was tributary to his own Subah of the Arcot. He Starting from Hyderabad in the early months of 1743[1] he soon arrived at Arcot where he encamped on the 21st of February 1743.[2] The force at his command, was astonishingly overwhelming. 70,000ø cavalry, 2,00,000 infantry, 15,000 Mahrattas, and 10,000 horsemen under various commanders[3] made up his men-force. He had besides 2 mortars, 500 cannons dragged by elephants and 50 camel loads of powder.[4] Included in the army were an untold number of animals, domestic and beasts of burden. The whole army when encamped encircled the vast extent from the river Pennar-taking in Vellore-to the dam of Kaveripak, and it seemed as though " the sea was raising and flooding the land."[5]

At his first appearance at Arcot the Nizam was struck with the anarchy prevailing everywhere in the province. " The Mohammedan deputies of every deputy's deputy, and the officers of every mud fort, or town," he noticed," affected the fashionable designation of Nabob as the first step towards independence."[6] The ~~exc~~ vastness of the army had however, the desired magic effect. Any resistance to his ~~authority~~ power was out of question and all parties hastened to make humble submission to his authority.

The first essential towards the establishment of

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1. Orme, History of the Milita ry Transactions, I,p.51.
2. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I,p.235.
3. Memoire sur les dernieres guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, VIII,p.2oo. Lettre du pere Trembloy a Monsieur ---- estimates the force at 5,00,000 men. Ibid., p.127.
4. Ibid.
5. Ana nda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I,p.214.
6. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I,p.254.

of lasting peace in the Carnatic was the appointment of the a Nawab for the province. Rumours named one Coja Abdulla Khan, an officer in the Nizam's army as the very probable successor to the murdered Nawab Safdar Ali Khan.[1] The family of the late Nawab were not without hopes. They had agreed upon a sum to be paid to the Nizam and the latter had given every hopes that the young child of Safdar Ali should seat on the musnud of his deceased father. Towards the end of May 1743 the English at Madras received representations from the widow of Safdar Ali Khan for a loan of 10,00,000 rupees," a small matter", which represented the uncollected balance of the amount the Nizam was to receive, as the price of his confirming the child in the government of the province. She offered as security a mortagage of the rents of the part of the country, or a deposit of jewels.[2] Prudence and policy however, made the English refuse the loan; but they made it politely clear that the English East India Company entered into no borrowing or lending transactions with the native governing powers.[3]

Whatever may have been the result of the negotiations between the Nizam and the adherents of the young boy, Muhammad Syed Khan, the latter accompanied by several officers proceeded from Wandiwash, to pay homage to the Nizam in his camp at Arcot. The boy was however, detained in the camp and recommended to the care and patronage of some of the Nizam's own officers.[4] The detentionn

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1. Madras Diary and Consul, Book, March 1743, Appendix, p.107.
2. Madras Diary and Consul. Book, May 1743, Appendix, p.108.
3. Ibid., p.109.
4. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.52; also, Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p.254

of Muhammad Syed Khan in the camp was, soon after, followed by the appointment of Coja Abdullah Khan to the temporary in-charge of the province of the Carnatic. The arrangemnt was indeed temporary and the Nizam promised to consider the claims of Muhammad Syed Khan when he should come of age, thus recognising the principle of hereditary descent among the Nawabs of the Carnatic.

The affairs at the Carnatic having thus been put on a saner footing, the Nizam next turned his attention to Trichinopoly. Trichinopoly was; as has been seen, under the Mahrattas since 1741 with Morari Rao as the Governor.[1] Summons were issued that the Mahrattas should evacuate the fort, but Morari Rao being persistent in his refusal, the Nizam marched against the place with his whole force and completely invested the fort. The mere weight of his name and number would have compelled the Morari Rao to surrender, but operations were apparently prolonged to suit either party. The conduct of the siege was entrusted to the charge of Coja Abdulla Khan[2], who, with the knowledge and more probably, under instructions from the Nizam prolonged the siege which thus lasted for from five to six months.[3] Not a single engagement apparently took place, although the siege was carried on with every sembalnce of reality. In August 1743 negotiations were opened and terms of truce were soon after settled. According to the mutual arrangement arrived at, Morari

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1. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.52.
2. Memoire sur les derniered guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, VIII, p.201.
3. Ibid., p.127.

Rao[illegible] agreed to quit Trichinopoly and the Nizam on his side appointed him to the government of Gooti.[1] Thus did Trichinopoly pass away once again into the hands of the Muhammedans on August 29, 1743.[2]

The Nizam left Trichinopoly in October from where he moved to the west of Arcot and encamped at Gandicota.[3] Here he remained till March 1744, his time mostly taken up in settling the governments of the Country in his charge.[4] According to the arrangement Coja Abdulla Khan still retained the Carnatic acting as the regent for Muhammed Syed Khan, a minor. From Gandicota the Nizam made a move for Hyderabad, towards the end of March 1744. Coja Abdulla Khan accompanied his suzerain, leaving the government of the Carnatic in the hands of his son Nahmet-ulla-khan to act till his return.[5] At Golconda the appointment of Coja Abdulla Khan was publicly proclaimed and on the eve of his departure for Arcot the new Nawab was distinguished with the highest honours.[6] The day he was to set out however, Coja Abdulla Khan was found dead in the bed he had retired overnight.[7] The immediate cause of his death has been attributed to a "pain in the stomach"[8] which was suspected to be the effect of poison, although it was appoplexy, according to some that caused

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1. Grant Duff, History of the Mahrattas, I, p.435.
2. Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.235. Mamoire sur les dernieres guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales gives August 25 as the date of surrender. See Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, VIII, p.201.
3. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/5-9-1744, Despatches to England 1744-45, Appendix, p. 39.
4. Memoire sur les dernieres guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, VIII, p. 201.
5. Madras Diary and consul. Books March 1744 and December 1743- Appendix, pp. 111 & 109.
6. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.52.
7. Ibid. Grose, A Voyage to the East Indies, II, p.xvi states the event to have occured " on the road " to Golconda.
8. D. Love, Vestiges of old Madras, III, p. 286.

his death. The immediate successor to Coja Abdulla Khan was not, however, absolved from the taint of suspicion, if only for the reason that he was the immediate gainer by the death, ~~of Coja Abdulla Khan.~~ latter's

A very short space of time must have intervened between the death of Nawab Coja Abdulla Khan and the appointment of his successor[1], whom we shall henceforth distinguish by the name of Anwar-ud-din Khan. The arrival of Anwar-ud-din Khan at Arcot completed the revolution in the Carnatic, inaugurated by the murder of Nawab Safdar Ali Khan in October 1742.

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1. Anwar-ud-din Khan took charge of his government in April 1744.

CHAPTER VIII.

Anwar-ud-din Khan.

The faction spirit that prevailed in the Carnatic received stimulus by the sudden death of Nawab Coja Abdulla Khan under the most mysterious circumstances. There was every probability of the recrudescence of the anarchical happenings of 1742-43. The arrangements made by the Nizam, it appeared, would not hold long. But the appointment of Anwar-ud-din Khan in place of the deceased Nawab Coja Abdulla Khan shattered the hopes of the party who expected to reestablish the line that had ruled over the Carnatic since the days of Sadat-ulla-Khan. In selecting Anwar-ud-din Khan to take up the onerous charge of the Carnatic, the Nizam was, no doubt, actuated by the necessity of placing a province, in which he suspected commotions, under a brave and experienced general, although the inducements he received from the relatives of the new Nawab were no less responsible for the same, they having promised on his behalf to "stand to all the Engagements which were agreed and promised by Coja Abdulla Cawn deceased."[1]

The abilities and reputation of Anwar-ud-din Khan fully justified his appointment. He claimed descent from an ancient Tartar family who had held considerable employment in Hindustan. His father by name Anwar was distinguished for his learning and piety. He had been in the service of Emperor Aurangzeb and had been ennobled by the distinguished title of Khan, being also the Diwan or the general farmer of the revenues of the province of Patna.[2]

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1. D. Love, Vestiges of Old Madras, II, p. 286

2. Suspension and Arrest of Pigot, II, p. 88 ;also, Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p. 52

Anwar-ud-din Khan was, like his father, equally distinguished for his abilities. He had been in charge of the province of Korab-Jehan-abad when Gazi-ud-din, the then subedar of the Southern provinces, gave him an honourable post in the city of Surat.[1] Having proved himself a man of address and consummate knowledge in politics and the science of government, reputed great alike in the arts of war and peace, he was trusted by Nizam-ul-mulk with the governments of Cambay and Putlad and with the Nawabship of Yallore and Rajmundri, which posts he held for many years from 1725 to 1741 till his appointment as the Nawab of the Carnatic in 1744.[2]

Anwar-ud-din Khan was raised to the Nawabship of the Carnatic, but the claims of Syed Muhammed Khan had to be considered. As a successor of Sadat-ulla-Khan, the latter had endeared himself to the nobles and people of the Carnatic, who wished to see him appointed as their ruler. In deference to the public opinion it was given out, therefore, that the appointment of Anwar-ud-din was a temporary arrangement till Muhammed Syed Khan should reach the age of manhood.[3] At the same time the hands of the new Nawab were strengthened by the appointment of his son Mahfuz Khan as the deputy Nawab to succeed his father in case of his death and by posting Muhammed Ali Khan, the second son, to the governments of the Naik kingdoms of Madura and Trichinopoly.[4] To make the picture complete the Nawab was entrusted with the charge of Muhammed Sayed Khan to whom he was to be a father, guardian and preceptor.

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1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.;Also, Suspension and Arrest of Pigot, p. 88
3. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.54
4. Memoires sur les dernieres Guerres des Morses aux Indes Orientales, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p.202

Anwar-ud-din Khan took charge of his government in April 1744. The immediate effect of his arrival was to restore peace a nd tranquillity to the country, contrived more by the imposing army a t his command, which included the troops of the Nawabs of Carnatic and Cundanore then at Arcot, than by his own just or equitable rule.[1] He seemed to be on extremely good terms with the child Nawab whom he treated with the utmost respect a nd maintained him at Arcot in a splendour adequate to his birth.[2]

But the rule of Anwar-ud-din Khan continued to be looked upon with detestation and dissatisfaction. Murtaza Ali Khan the evil genius of the Na wabs of the Carnatic plotted in his own evil manner the murder of the new Nawab and his ward. He had still lingering hopes of becoming the Nawab by his bloody offerings at the alter of the goddess of fortune. With this design he hired a dozen Pathans enjoining them,[3] on a promise of two lakhs of rupees to bring about the murders. The mosque near the palace at Arcot was the place fixed upon for the assassination. It is said, the murderers wa ited for eleven days awaiting an a opportunity but indisposition kept the Nawab confined to his palace. On Friday the 23rd, the eleven days vigil of the assassins was almost certain of being rewarded when fate once more interfered a nd the Nawab was saved, this time by the presents of the English, which he was engrossed in inspecting and forgot the service at

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1. Letter from Fort.St.George to the Company dated 5-9-1744: Despatches to Engla nd 1744-45, Appendix p. 39.
2. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, II, p.55.
3. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company dated 5-9-1744 : Despatches to England, 1744-45, Appendix, p. 40.

at the mosque.[1] Undiscouraged by their failure on the life in the designs on the life of the Nawab, the assassins tried with and succeeded in their attempt on the life of the child.

The fort of Arcot was the scene of the gruesome tragedy. The morning of Saturday, the 4th July 1744[2] was the day fixed for the execution of the crime. A wedding of one of the relatives was being celebrated at Arcot, and the relatives of the bride and the bridegroom had congregated to celeberate the event. A few Pathans from five to twelve in number under Hiayat Ali Khan, Shamshir joined the party and sat down close to where Syed Muhammed Khan was seated with some of his relatives. Immediately after a slight altercation ensued. The Pathans demanded their pay which evidently formed part of the plot. Their insolence was unbearable. They were asked to go away. An ordinary demand now took the form of a threat and the Pathans becoming more insolent insisted on being satisfied. It was not now difficult to see behond the mask. An attempt was made by some of the relatives to remove the child from amidst the dangerous environment, but before this could be contrived the leader of the Pathans drew out his dagger and aimed a blow at the prince. One of the officers interposed and received the blow. A general melee ensued. Swords and poignards were drawn and the assassins cut to pieces. In the melee the young Prince Syed Muhammed together with some of the relatives were killed.[3]

Although the avowed motive of the murder was the

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1. Ibid.

2. The fixing of the date of the murder presents hardly any difficulty. Madras Diary gives 23rd. June that is 4th July according to the New Style. Ananda Ranga Pillai also gives 4th July. But the date of the Diary and the date of the event coincide in Pillai and creates doubt. It would,however, have been impossible for Pillai to have heard of the event on the very same day it was perpetrated. The only way we can escape the anomaly would be to suggest that it was pure inadvertance or at best mental confusion which made Pillai write the date of the event as that of the murder itself.

3. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I,p.257.

recovery of the arrears of pay, the occasion selected and the circumstances under which it was carried out left no doubt in the mind that the Pathans were instigated by some superior power. Suspicion was naturally divided between Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan and Murtaza Ali Khan, the first because he was an immense gainer by the removal of the Prince , the second because of the remembrance of a similar guilt on a previous occasion. There was no belief lacking in the possibility of Murtaza Ali Khan and the Nawab having confederated to bring about the assassination. The powerful nobles of the Court are represented [1] to have discovefed the secrets fixing the guilt on Anwar-ud-din. " They said, that the respect and attachment which were shown by all rank of people to Seid Mahomed, joined to the great influence which his relatives bore in the Carnatic, by pazze possessing the best forts and governments in the province, had filled the mind of An'war-odean Khan with apprehensions of comprehansions conspiracies and revolts,which might at one time or other remove him, in order to place Seid Ma homed in the sovereignity: that actuated by these suspicions he regarded the destruction of Seid Mahomed as necessary to his own security, and was only with-held from executing it by the dread of Nizam-al-mulluck's resentment, which suggested to him the scheme of practising on Mortiz-ally, by such insinuations and offers, as might induce him to undertake the destruction of Seid Muhamed; but in such a manner, that, if a dis discovery should be made, the murder might be imputed to Mortiz-Ally alone;who being persuaded of the probability of a revolution in favour of Seid Mahomed, and dreading the revenge of this prince for

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1. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.58.

for the murder of his father, hired the assassins, having previously assured himself of protection from An'war-odean khan, and even of rewards by an increase of the Domain of Velore."[1] D.D.M.L.T. is equally strong in his assertion[2] that it was Anwar-ud-din khan who was responsible for the murder, but the manner in which Anwar-ud-din khan is made to work to contrive the object in view, and the way the child Nawab is made to act are beyond imagination when it is considered that the boy was only eight or nine years of age[3] when murdered. Even for this very reason one is inclined to throw aside, as unhistorical, the relation of facts furnished by Orme. The grounds of suspicion against Anwar-ud-din khan were by no means definite. He was not guilty, in as much as, he was himself marked out for a victim by the assassins. An extract from the Despatch of Fort St. George to the Company dated 5th September 1744[4] exculpates him completely from even a knowledge of the guilt. "The death of this unfortunate young lad and the manner of it has greatly afflicted our Nabob as he was sensible it would occasion Nizam's great displeasure for his not having taken more care of him and had not his age and services pleaded strong in his favour he certainly had lost his post; his negligence was interpreted at first by Nizam as a design in favour of his own son but after he had read the note of Moortas Alli khan in which the Nabob's name was mentioned as one they had marked out for a victim it soften'd him a good deal

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1. Ibid.
2. D.D.M.L.T., History of Hyder Shah, pp.9-12.
3. Ananda Ranga Pillai speaks of him as " a child " and Pillai is right. According to Madras Diary of 6-6-1740 the child was in 1740, 2½ years of age i.e. between 6½ to 7 at the time of the murder. Memoire sur les dernieres des Mores aux Indes Orientales calls him a child eight years old. (Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, VIII, p.201.)
4. Despatches to England 1744-45, Appendix, p.40.

nevertheless he did not fail to reproach him severely in all his letters for his great negligence towards the lad and upbraiding him with his not performing his promise when he committed him to his charge."

If we absolve Anwar-ud-din khan from the guilt of the murder, our suspicions about Murtaza Ali Khan becomes doubly assured. The brutal murder of the Prince took men's mind two years back to the remembrance of the murder of the father at Vellore Already suspicions were aroused regarding the guilt of Murtaza Ali and the report of his precipitate flight from Arcot to Vellore left no doubt that he was the author of the assassination.[1] Nearly all contemporaries agree in fixing the guilt on him and circumstantial evidence is too strong for us to attempt to defend him, much less to try to absolve him of the guilt. However Wilkes[2] is inclined to transfer the suspicion to two others of the family of the murdered prince who are stated to have appropriated the treasure of the state at Arcot. He seems rather to be strong in his conviction depending for his information on the statement of an old man, a nevayat by caste, the same as that of Murtaza Ali Khan who was present at the murder as a personal attendant on the prince. Wilkes hardly realizes that his own strange predilection for the nevayats strongly prejudice his views.

Anwar-ud-din khan seemed to be oppressed with despair, sorrow and indignation at the event. His position was at stake. His subjects did not fail to exempt him from the imputation of the murder, and he had to satisfy his over-lord Nizam-ul-mulk about his innocence. For some time he continued to deplore the loss of his pupil, but as soon as the first agitations had subsided he sent

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1. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.57.
2. Wilkes, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p.255 n.

for his son Muhammed Ali from Trichinopoly and doubled the guard at Arcot.[1] His indignation against the pathans seemed to know no bounds. He was determined to punish them. Orders were issued that all the people of that nation should quit the city; and their houses should be plundered and raised to the ground.[2] This is one account of the vengence he wreaked on the pathans; there is yet another account which, if true, presents his character in a very odious light. It is said,[3] that Anwar-ud-din Khan assembled the chiefs of his army and persuaded them that the only way of showing their loyalty to the memory of the beloved prince would be to exterpate the Pathans. His advice, it is further stated, was universally approved of, and an opportunity having offered itself, all the Pathans to the number of 3000 were massacred in cold blood, the women and children alone being spared.

Nizam-ul-mulk was informed of the history of the catastrophe and of the punishments inflicted upon the perpetrators of the murder. Whether satisfied with the conduct of his inferior or not, the Nizam concluded that he could not do better than bestow the Nawabship on Anwar-ud-din Khan, whom he considered necessary to support, in proportion as he became odious to the province. Accordingly a full and regular commission for the Nawabship was sent to Anwar-ud-din,[4] who thus became the founder of the second dynasty of the Nawabs of the Carnatic.

Properly constituted a Nawab, Anwar-ud-din however failed to command the respect of the nobles or the people of the

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1. Madras Diary and Consultation Book d/26-6-1744:Appendix, p.120.
2. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.58; Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.258.
3. M.M.D.L.T., History of Hyder Shah, pp. 12-13.
4. Ibid., Also Orme, History of Military Transactions, I, p.60.

Carnatic. The province was irritated at his rule,[1] which they considered nothing short of usurpation. Complaints were many and severe against him. His government was"proved to be the most spiritless, covetous, severe and unjust." and "the whole body of superior, Inferior and Meaner rank of subjects in the Province continually lamented for having so bad a government over them.""[2] The Governors of the best parts of the country refused equally to be amenable to his rule. A spirit of revolt manifested itself. Each lord established himself in his own government and refused even to pay the sums due to the Nawab which each one however , remitted direct to the Nizam.[3] The best course under the circumstances was to leave the hostile elements alone till they became used to his rule and this was what the Nawab did. He seemed not to notice the spirit of revolt, perhaps having no force enough to curb that spirit, and was content to bide his time.

With the treaties of Worms and Fontainbleau in October 1743 the Austrian war of Succession in Europe, entered upon a new phase. France and Spain pledged themselves to a permanent union and France agreed to declare war upon England which had accidently been involved in the wars in the capacity of George II as Elector of Hanover. England now headed a great league against France and it was recognised that the war of the Austrian Succession in Europe would have its repercussions in India, in as much as, great colonial interests were involved ~~in it~~ there. Hitherto neither of the two powers had taken serious steps to disturb ~~their~~ the enemy's colonial

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1. Ibid.
2. As stated by Papaiya Brahmin. D.Love, Vestiges of old Madras, II, p.288.
3. Memoires sur les dernieres guerres des Mores aux Indes Orientales, Lettres Edifiantes et Curreuses, VIII, p.202.

settlements; since the open declaration of the war, they began to exercise military powers on the continent of India, and from this moment they felt the necessity of the friendship and alliance of the Rulers of the land even as in former years they had sought their protection and pharmans to preserve or extend their commerce. and trade.

If it was in the interest of the ~~the~~ European settlements on the Coromondel coast to be on good terms, with the Nawab of the Carnatic at this juncture, it was equally in the interests of the latter to accept the proffered friendship. The Nawab at first naturally inclined to the English manifestedly on account of the great friendship subsisting between the French and the House of Sadat-ulla Khan, andthe lurking fear that the French ~~who~~ would support the claims of the representatives of that House, Chanda Sahib, then a prisoner at Satara, in the event of his release. In August 1745, in reply to an invitation from the English, he moved upto St. Thome, received the English deputation consisting of Messrs. Eyre and Powke, two of the Council, with presents and compliments from the Governor of Fort St. George;[1] but declining for any definite reason to proceed to Madras, he moved for Pondicherry where he encamped half a mile from the French fortifications. Pondicherry was then in the hands of Joseph Francis Dupleix who had succeeded Dumas in October 1741 and about whom the readers need no introduction. Unaware of the object with which the Nawab was moving to Pondicherry, Dupleix complimented him on his arrival and sent two councillors and two officers to wait upon him, and conduct him into town. His acute intelligence atonce perceived the advantage that a connection with the Nawab offered, and he prepared to accord him a royal welcome. A tent was pitched outside the Veshudavur

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1. Madras Diary 19-8-1745. Diary and Consul Book 1745, Appendix.. p.232.

Gate, where Dupleix awaited the arrival of the Nawab. Every possible arrangement was made. The soldiers were posted all along the line on the glacis, upto the ramparts, and news was communicated to the Nawab that the French Governor was ready to receive him. Attended by musicians and followed by a grand procession of elephants, horses and palanquins, the Nawab started from his camp, a little after noon, and was soon at the Veshudavur Gate, where he was accorded a salute of 50 guns. The air resounded with joyous acclamations as the great men embraced each other in the truly oriental fashion, and entered the tent with great pomp. With the roll of drums and the clang of cymbals the cavalcade proceeded from the tent, along the streets of Pondicherry and finally drew up before the Governor's house in the town. There the troops paraded before the Nawab who watched their manœuvres with great admiration. The Nawab felt greatly charmed with the welcome he received. He declared he considered Dupleix as his own son and thought himself as safe at Pondicherry as among his own people. Towards evening a dinner was served in silver plates and dishes, soon after which the Nawab started for Arcot at nine in the evening (11th September)[1]

Already war had been declared between England and France, in consequence of which a squadron of English men-of-war appeared in the Indian seas, with the express purpose of devastating the French commerce and destroying the French colony. The garrison at Pondicherry was in no adequate state to offer any resistance. With a restricted men-power, with no strong fortifications to boast of and without hope of the appearance of the French fleet the position of Dupleix was trying in the extreme.[1] He appealed to

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1. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, pp.281-82.
2. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.60.

Governor Morse for a continuation of the peaceful relations hitherto prevailing, but Governor Morse seemed equally desirous for war and pleaded the orders he had received from England.[1] In the critical circumstances in which he was placed Dupleix next made an appeal to Nawab Anwar-ud-din requesting his interference, his support and protection. Either moved by the appeal of Dupleix or struck with fear at the report of the approaching English squadron, the Nawab wrote to Governor Morse as early as February 1745 to desist from any hostilities with the French on sea.[2] The actual appearance of the squadron on the coast of Coromandel in the month of July 1745 alarmed the Nawab in no small degree. He wrote once more to the Madras Council[3] forbidding hostilities with the French, ".... as all the sea port towns are the great Mogulls and some of them only were entrusted to the care of the English Europeans, in Expectations that they would Behave themselves peaceably and quietly in Indostan, you will consider of it thoroughly and seriously and take care not to raise any disturbances on shore;for you shall be called on to an account for it hereafter in case you do. Pray observe this as strict Taukeed."

The Nawab's letter seemed more a mandate than a warning. the Government of Madras remonstrated[4] that they were always ready to comply with every wish of the Nawab, that as far as activities on the land were concerned they were willing to observe his commands and hold peace, "provided there is the same deference

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1. Mallison, History of the French in India;p. 102.
2. Madras Diary 4-2-1745: Diary and Consul. Book,1745, Appendix,p.121-122.
3. Letter from Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan d/14-7-1745: Madras Diary and Consul Book, 1745, Appendix, p. 125-126.
4. Letter from Governor Morse to Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan d/16-7-1745: Ibid. Appendix p. 127.

paid to them by the French" but that on sea their powers did not extend, the English comma nder on sea, Mr. Barnet being not under their control, as he acted under orders from tthe king of Great Britain and was independent of the Enlish East India Company at Madras. The Nawab however[1] repeated his injunctions stating that all officers of the European nations who came to the coast of Coromandel were obliged to obey his orders and that Mr. Barnet should do likewise else the town of Madras would pay for the disobedience. No European nation had dared upto now to take any overt action in disobedience to the native authority, and Governor Morse not venturing to do so himself, apparently induced the Commander Barnet not to disregard the Nawab's wishes. Barnet refrained from attacking Pondicherry, which he might have done with every prospect of success." and on the approach of the rainy season he cruised away to Mergui,[2] a port in the Gulf of Bengal.

Just at this time the Nawab was at Tanjore. Pertab Singh of Tanjore who had secured his liberty early in 1744 refused to pay the tribute owing to the Nawab. The latter accordingly headed an expedition to Tanjore "on the 26th of Moon Ramajan" i.e. the 21st of October 1745. Pertab Singh found it necessary to submit, and besides the amount of tribute he gave the Nawab a bond[3] for seven lacks of rupees. While engaged at Tanjore, orders were received from the Nizam to return forthwith to Arcot and get the troops in readiness against the Maharattas, who were reported to be entering the Carnatic demanding the usual

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1. Letter from Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan d/11-8-1745: Ibid., Appendix, p.130,
2. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.61.
3. Suspension and arrest of Lord Pigot, I,p.124.

chouth as well as the surrender of Trichinopoly.[1] But sudden illness prevented the Nawab from setting out in person and Mahfuz Kham was recalled from Trichinopoly and put at the head of the forces.[2] The troops that had been deputed against the Maharattas consisted of, besides the forces of the Nawab, those of the Nawabs of Cuddapah and Cudanore and detachment from the Nizam himself.[3] In one of his letters to Fort St. George the Nawab refers to the defeat inflicted by the Muhamedan forces upon the Maharattas, the flight of the latter and their pursuit. No further information relative to this transaction seems available but it is safe to surmise that the Maharattas were unsuccessful in their designs on the Carnatic.

The English squadron which had retired to the Gulf of Bengal returned to the coast of the Carnatic in the beginning of the year 1746. On receipt of this information Dupleix wrote to the Nawab "The English paying no deference to you, seem determined to wage war against us. Out of respect for you we wish to avoid fighting with them. They are encamped near our bounds and intend to attack our town; but our forces will remain within our bounds and will not do violence within yours. If at any time the English should give us occasion to fight, we cannot then remain passive. Should therefore encounter take place within your territories, you must not blame us,----- Be it known to you that it is the English that have compelled us to wite this letter to you."[4] " This was just a prelude to the open hostilities Dupleix was meditating against the English. There was certain intelligence

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2. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company. d/31-1-1746: ~~Despatches to England, 1745-1746.~~ Appendix., p. 42

2. Madras Diary 4-1-1745: Diary and Consul. Book, 1745, Appendx. p. 121.

3. From Anwar-ud-din Khan d/4-1-1745: Appendix p. 122.

4. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, I, p.336.

COLONIAL BOND

that a French fleet under La Bourdonnais was approaching the coast of the Carnatic and in the event of hostilities Dupleix considered it politic to clear his own position with the native ruler. Unfortunately for the English they had lost their squadron leader Commandor Barnet and the command devolved upon Mr. Peyton. On the 25th June a naval engagement took place and the English though not desastrously defeated, fearing any further engagement, abandoned the coast and sailed for Ceylon leaving Madras to its fate.[1]

Tables had now completely changed against the English. The fleet under Peyton had abandoned them and Madras was at the mercy of the French. News was received that La Bourdonnais at Pondicherry was making preparations to attack Madras. It was now for Governor Morse to plead for an intervention of the Nawab to prevent the French from attacking them by land. He wrote to the Nawab contrasting his compliance with the latter's orders on a previous occasion and Dupleix's provocative attitude.[2] The Nawab was pleased with the English having obeyed his orders and assured them that he would not suffer Dulpeix to behave in a different manner. "I have sent him my Taukeed in such a way as is necessary upon this occasion. Pray believe me to be your friend and let me have the pleasure of hearing frequently of your welfare."[3] But in spite of the remonstrance and the assurance, the French under La Bourdonnais occupied Madras on the 21st of September 1746 uunder circumstances which have already been related by Mallison and

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1. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p. 62.
2. Letter to Nawab Anwar-ud-din Khan from the Governor of Madras d/19-3-1745: Diary and Consul Book, 1745, Appendix., p. 134-135
3. Letter from Nawab Anwar-ud-din. Ibid. Appendix, p.136.

others and which it would be needless to repeat here.

The Nawab had apparently taken no action to prevent the French from disobeying his orders. This has been attributed by Orme to the parsimony of the English, who, he said neglected to accompany their representation with a present of money. "This ill-judged parsimony left the Nawab so lukewarm in their interests, that although he did not give Mr. Dupleix a positive permission, he refrained from making any preparations, or even from using menaces to prevent the French from attacking Madras."[1] But Pillai records several letters from Anwar-ud-din Khan which point out clearly that the Nawab was by no means "lukewarm" in his attitude to the English and that the French capture of Madras was brought about in spite of his remonstrance. On receipt of the intelligence of the preparations at Pondicherry the Nawab wrote to Dupleix "It comes as a surprise to us to learn that you have thought of carrying out warlike operations against Madras. We hope, however, that you will in future abstain from pursuing hostile measures such as these. If you do not, you will give us cause to be seriously provoked."[2] When he heard of the despatch of the expedition against Madras, he again wrote, "In spite of our explicit instructions that you should forbear from attacking Madras, you have despatched an expedition thither. We are therefore not disposed to allow Pondicherry to continue in your possession. We accordingly propose to advance against your town. You transgress all bounds; this is improper."[3] Dupleix could, at this stage, only reply that the fleet was guided by the instructions given by his Majesty of France and would not obey

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1. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.65
2. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary d/5-9-1746, II, p.283.
3. Ibid., 8-9-1746. p. 291.

his orders.[1] On the day in which Madras was surrendered an express-messenger from Nawab Anwar-ud-din arrived at Pondicherry, and delivered to Dupleix a letter in which the Nawab reiterated his astonishment at the timerity of the French in attacking Madras without his permission and threatened to send an army there, if the seige was not immediately raised.[2] In reply, Dupleix assured the Nawab that the French conquest of Madras was only undertaken on his behalf and that the city would be made over to him on its surrender.[3] At the same time that he wrote to Dupleix the Nawab also expressed his surprise at the presumption of the latter to land troops on his territory and invited him forthwith to reembark and retire from before Madras. La Bourdonnais justified his action by his thirst for vengence against the English who had insulted the French flag and refusing to quit Madras he wrote, "If this attitude drew upon him (La Bourdonnais) the forces of the moors, he would take care to give them a warm reception, without forgetting that he was a French man."[4]

From a kind of a mediator or a judge in the quarrel, the Nawab had now become a party to it. As soon as the French had occupied Madras,[5] the Nawab began to suspect, says Orme, that the promise of Dupleix to put him in possession of the city was a mere fraud employed to procure his non-intervention. But the letter of Dupleix to La Bourdonnaisclearly shows that the intention

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1. Ibid., p.285.
2. Ibid., pp. 311-312.
3. Malleson, History of the French in India, p.151.n.1 Dupleix to La Bourdonnais d/ September 21.
4. Martineau, Dupleix et L' Inde Frangaise, II, p.385.
5. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.73.

of Dupleix, at the time it was made, was genuinely sincere. "I have informed the Nawab through my agent at Arkat, that as soon as we are masters of the town of Madras, we will ma ke it over to him, it being well understood, in the state in which we may think fit,.. This information ought to determine you to press the siege vigorously, and not to listen to any propositions which may be made you for the ransomof the place after its capture, as that would be to deceive the Nawab and ma ke him join our enemies"[1] The remissness in fulfilling his promise, of course beyond the reach of Dupleix, gave the Nawab just cause for resentment. Days and weeks passed without Madras being surrendered to h im. The Na wab felt it as an insult to his authority, and he determined to revenge the affront a nd chastise the French for their arrogance by laying siege to Ma dras.

At this particular moment the Nawab fell seriously ill. He was an old man upwards of 80 and life was despaired of. Mahfuz Khan, the eldest was invested with the title of the Nawab and remained close to Arcot prepared to ta ke up the reins of Government in the event of the demise of his father.[2] But the Nawab showed signs of improvement and as soon as his health was sufficiently restored his attention was once more directed to the taking of Madras. He sent to St. Thome a small detachment of cavalry and a certain number of peons, as if that force would suffice to occupy Madras.[3] The fact was however otherwise. The small force was really deputed to assist the English who had by ~~now prevailed upon the Nawab to declare in their favour~~ although

1. Malleson, History of the French in India, p. 151.
2. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary (11-10-1746), II, p.382.
3. Martineau, Dupleix et L'inde Frangaise, II, p. 385.
4. Letter from Fort St. George, d/10-1-1746-47, Despatches to England, 1746-48; Appendix., p.

experience had tought them tha t he was of "an extreme lucrative disposition" and that consequently they could hardly rely upon his steadfast allia nce.[1]

The small detachment was followed on the 25th of October by a cavalry 1500 strong, which was in turn, followed by a strong force amounting to 1o,000 men under Mahføz Khan. This prince, on his arrival at Madras, sent his nephew to de mand of d'Espremenil, the French Governor of Madras to hand over the place to the English threatening siege in the event of refusal. The French without any dissimulation declared their intention to defend the place as well as they could in case of an attack.[2] The actual hostilities might be said to ha ve begun on the 26th when the son of Major Bury[3] was a rrested by the troops of the Nawa b. The French council at Madra s indignant at this procedure, sent two of the council Messrs. Cosse and Kerjean, the latter being the nephew of Dupleix, to protest against the illegal proceedings. But this were in turn arrested and kept prisoners of war.[4]

After the arrest of the son of Bury, Dupleix wrote to the Nawab and his son Mahfoz Khan reminding them of the time not too distant when they had urged him to make war against the English and had promised to render assistance; It grieved him to see those promises forgotten and the arms of the Nawab turned against him, but it grieved him still more that he should be compelled to repel force by forces.""If you however should act without caution, we are determined to give you a proof of the power of our valour. We

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1. Letter from Fort St. George to the Company d/~~12-1-1746-42~~ d/2-5-1747. Ibid. Appendix, p. 43
2. Martineau, Dupleix et L'inde Frangaise, II, pp. 285-286.
3. Commander-in-chief of the French forces.
4. Martineau, Dupleix et L'inde Frangaise, II, p.386.

will then raise the Fort and the town of Madras to the ground, and will work out our own policy, as circumstances will dictate. You will behold all this with your own eyes."[1] After the arrest of Gosse and Kerjean Madame Dupleix thought it politic to ~~wite to~~ address. the Nawab in the same strain. When the Nawab had last visited Pondicherry he had called her his daughter and had taken her arms within his: and it would give fruitful results if he was reminded of this.[2] Pillai thought this only a vanity of the woman.

Mahfuz Khan had in the meanwhile completely invested Madras.[3] His first attack on Black Town however failed and he suffered a very ignomious defeat at the Banks of the river Adyar at the hands of Paradis, who was coming from Pondicherry with only 500 men, to relieve the garrison at Madras.[4] The defeat of the Nawab at the banks of Adyar has now become commonly known as the battle of St. Thome, and it would be needless to dwell upon the details of war again when historians of the stamp of Orme, Malleson, Martineau and others have already dealt with it. Suffice it to say that the battle of St. Thome wrought incalculable harm to the Nawab's power and interest and in fact to the power and interest of all native rulers and opened the way for the European settlers to establish an Indian Empire by putting an end, as Orme observes, to the notions they had till then entertained of the Military abilities of the Mogul Emperor and his vassals, as well to that timorous spirit of submissiveness with which they had hitherto received and acted upon, every order of the native

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1. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, III, p.45.
2. Ibid., pp. 55to 57.
3. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.74.
4. Ibid., pp.75-76; Malleson History of the French in India, pp.194-195 and Martineau, Dupleix et L'inde Frangaise, II, pp. 390-391.

rulers.[1]

With the fall of Madras, Fort St. David remained the only stronghold of the English on the Coromandel coast,, about twelve miles south of Pondicherry with the town of Cuddalore about two miles to the North. The Government of St, David depended on that of Madras but on the capture of the latter place by the French, they took upon the general administration of the Coromandel with a determination to defend the stronghold to the last extremity; and for that purpose invoked the aid of the Nawab, whose troops, since the late defeat had retired to Arcot. The Nawab readily agreed to send his army to the assistance of the English on condition that they should pay for the part of the expense. The proposal being agreed to, the armies took field in two bodies, one under Mahfoz Khan with 6000 men , and the other under Muhammedally Khan with 3000 men.[2]

In the beginning of December Dupleix recalled Paradis from Madras to Pondicherry with a view to entrust him with the comma nd of the expedition he was preparing against Fort St. David. Paradis started from Madras on the 3rd. December with 300 soldiers and sepoys. The marchh of Paradis afforded a singular opportunity to Mahfoz Khan to wreak vengence for the late disgrace at St. Thome. He resolved to intercept the detachment and waited for it 10 miles north of Sadras. As Paradis approached slowly and rather carelessly, his rear was suddenly attacked. The assault was rude and the French lost about fifteen men and a part of the baggage.

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1. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.76.
2. Ibid., p. 79.

They proceeded with the utmost difficulty, their march being retarded by the continual harassement they received at the hands of the Nawab's cavalry till they finally reached Sadras. The consternation caused was apparently too great. Paradis refused to move from Sadras until he was reinforced from Pondicherry and this retarded by several days the meditated operations against Fort St. David.[1]

Every preparation was now ready to storm the Fort St. David. Report had gained ground that the troops under the Nawab's second son ~~Mahomeddally~~ Muhammad Ali consisted of barely 2000 men and this made the French more than confident. The French forces under General de Bury, "an officer not only old, but possessing the worst characteristics of age" had already crossed the river Pannar, and being encamped in the company's garden, almost under the walls of the Fort, they concludede their march at the end and unsuspecting laid down their arms when on a sudden "a large body of forces, horse and foot, were discovered approaching in good order from the westward. This was the Nawab's army, consisting of 6000 horse and 3000 foot, under the command of his sons Mahfoz Khan and Mahommedally, who having united their forces that they separately commanded, had arrived the precending day on the plain of Chimundelum, four miles to the west of Fort St. David."[2] The combat, it is said, lasted for nearly two hours. The French artillery did their best, but all of a sudden, de Bury gave the signal for retreat. Every man ran to his arms in confusion, imagining that the only safety lay in recrossing the river Pannar. As soos as the French troops had gained the bank, a panic seized

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1. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.79; also, Martineau, Duplaix et L'inde Frangaise, II, p. 436-437.

2.. Orme, History of the Military Transaction, I, p.82.

them. They plunged into the river and many threw down their arms before the opposite side was gained. The French artillery alone preserved the troops from complete annihilation.[1]

It cannot be gainsaid that the assistance rendered by the Nawab's forces to the English at this stage proved the means of saving the English Company's interest from utter annihilation. The French losses have been estimated at 12 killed and 170 wounded while the Nawab lost upwards of 300. The English had taken no part in the action and consequently had no loss to deplore. They were content to remain behind the strong walls of the Fort while the Nawab's forces that had come to their assistance bore the brunt of the battle.[2] But this was an exhibition in its simplest form of that characteristic which so often sacrificed the native troops at the expense of the white and of which the Great War was the most outstanding example.

The first attack on Fort St. David had failed. Dupleix was keenly aware that any further attempts against the English would similarly fail so long as the Nawab continued his assistance to the English and he resolved to reopen negotiations with him to induce him to withdraw his troops. Simultaniously he engineered a surprise sea-attack on Cuddalore, but the ships had hardly left the shore when a storm arose and frustrated the second attempt.[3]

Disappointed in his views against Cuddalore and finding that the Nawab's army still continued with the English, Dupleix determined to wage war into the heart of the country, at the same

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1. Ibid., pp. 82-83.
2. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, III, p.202.
3. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.83.

time that he was ~~trying~~ carrying on negotiations with the Nawab and throwing seeds of discord between his two sons. It was a dangerously contradictory policy Dupleix had underta ken but he well understood his own plans a nd hoped to succeed by them. He had on a previous occasion, before the first attack on Fort St. David, tried to create disunion between the two brothers and had well-nigh succeeded in winning the younger Muhammadally Khan to his side by promises of lending him support in an attempt to wrest the Carnatic from his aged father ; but the negotiations at that time had only failed because Muhammadally was rather too impatient and Dupleix rather too inacomodating.[1] While therefore d'Espremenil on the one hand sent out detachments[a] burning and destroying the villages round about the Great Mount,[2] Dupleix himself carried on a diplomatic correspondence with the Nawab and his two sons, which with the help of mangoes and oranges skilfully distributed among the officers, nearly accomplished the purpose.[3] The first act that virtually put the seal on the peace negotiations was the release of the French prisoners Gosse and Kerjean who had been captured in the opening stages of the war.[4] At the same time that the Nawab ordered their release he wrote to his sons to quit the English and join him at Arcot, where their services would be more usefully employed in reaising money for the

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1. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Priva te Diary, III, pp.136-137
2. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p. 84.
3. Ana nda Ranga Pilla i, Private Diary, III, pp. 232-and 255.
4. Ibid., p. 259.

tribute to be paid to the Nizam.[1]

The sudden arrival of the French Fleet on the Coast of the Coromandel, in January 1747 precipitated the peace. The Nawab struck by the accession of the French force was the first to make a move. He thanked Dupleix for the mangoes sent to him. He asked him to evacuate Madras and promised that all would then go well.[2] This move on the part of the Nawab afforded a good basis for further negotiations. Dupleix however, could not be persuaded to relinquish Madras and he refused to do so without the consent of the King of France. Disappointed in his claims the Nawab next desired that his flag should fly over Madras for eight days and Dupleix consented to this procedure[3] " in acknowledgment of the Nawab's suzerainity and in apology for the French having attacked the place against his (the Nawab's) express wishes." One part of the negotiations having thus been settled to the best interest of both the parties, there yet remained the question of the reparations, the French should pay for the depradationd their troops had committed at the Great Mount. This was the most delicate part of the nrgotiations The Nawab would not be satisfied with less than four lakhs of rupees; Dupleix would not pay more than half-a-lakh.[4] The negotiations were allowed to drag on for a month (19 January to 20 February) but at last a reconciliation was arrived at. Mahfuz Khan was invited to Pondicherry to ratify the treaty. The invitation was accepted

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1. Ibid., p.244.
2. Ibid., p.261.
3. Ibid., p.278.
4. ibid., p.315.

but not without considerable heart-breaking for Mahfuz Khan was determined to dictate the manner of his own reception. The reception was on the grandest scale imaginable.[1] The treaty was ratified in virtue whereof the French paid a lack of rupees to the Nawab and his sons and the mogul flag was hoisted on Madras for eight days.[2]

After the departure of Mahfuz Khan, Muhammedally was similarly invited to Pondicherry, but he refused the invitation on the pretext of having received orders from the Nawab to resort to Arcot and also because of a tooth-ache; but he gladly accepted the presents sent him by Dupleix.[3] Apparent it was, that Muhammedally had taken very little part in the negotiations and harboured certain resentment against the French. It was an irony of fate that Dupleix failed to win over the second son of the Nawab to his side, at this stage of the negotiations. If Dupleix had only considered more deeply the claims Muhammedally had to his attention and if he had only pressed the acceptance of the invitation to Pondicherry by the latter, the French interests in India would have had another story to tell and this would have probably altered the whole complexion of the anglo-Indian history, but this was not to be.

In accordance with the treaty the Nawab's army broke up the camp.[4] On the 15th of February, Mahfuz Khan proceeded to Trichinopoly and Muhammedally to Arcot. The act of the Nawab in withdrawing his support to the English has been stigmatised as

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1. Ibid., pp. 323-326.
2. Ibid., pp.345-348.
3. Ibid., p.333.
4. Letter from Fort St, David to the Company d/(?) Madras and Bengal Papers, II, p.7.

a desertion. "The governments of Indostan have no idea of national honour in the conduct of their politics; and as soon as they think the party with whom they are engaged is reduced to great distress, they shift, without hesitation, their alliance to the opposite side, making immediate advantage the only rule of their action."[1] But the letters of the government of Fort St. David to the company seem to justify the Nawab's action. The Nawab's army had remained before the fort for upwards of three months at the expense of 6000 rupees a day[2] and although the English had promised to bear part of the expense their presents amounted to nothing more than 40,000 rupees.[3] The English were seemingly very profligate in their promises to the Nawab. They had extended hopes of being atonce relieved by the arrival of their ships; but for three months the ships did not come. In the circumstances the Nawab's withdrawal of his troops can in no manner be imputed a treacherous act on his part. The war was between the French and the English and it was no affair of the Nawab to continue it on his own responsibility and at his own expense when the allies failed so signally to carry out their engagements.

Apart from the disturbances raised by the Anglo-French war, the Carnatic had remained comparatively at peace. The Nawab's rule extended from Madras right upto the Comorin, in other words the whole country save the kingdoms of Tanjore, Travancore and Cochin. The Naik kingdoms of Trichinopoly and Madura which were under the king's tributary to the Nawabs of the Carnatic also passed into the direct rule of Anwar-ud-din. But the ciscumstances

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1. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.84.
2. Letter from Fort St David to the Company d/2-5-1747: Despatches to England 1746-48, Appendix p.44.
3. Ibid.

under which this was effected are not shorn of interest nor are they foreign to our subject. When in 1743 the Nizam obtained Trichinopoly from the Maharattas, Bangarm Tirumala whom we have already introduced in previous pages, visited the Nizam in the hope of obtaining his favour and regaining his lost kingdom. The Nizam, it is stated,[1] took Bangarm together with Vijaya Kumara, his son to Arcot and entrusted the task of reinstating him on his ancestral throne to Anwar-ud-din. The latter proved however a tardy agent of his master's orders. He treated Bangarm and his son with every consideration but whenever asked to hasten his favour, the Nawab always replied he would be reinstated as soon as the country was settled. There was little doubt that the state of the Carnatic in the commencement of the Nawab's rule was none too happy and there were even open rebellions and at Arcot and at other places which took no little trouble to pacify. Atlast when peace was completely restored and it was time for the Nawab to part with the extensive region between Trichinopoly and Cape Comorin, he, it is said, issued orders to remove the prince for ever from his path of ambition. "And the murder was perpetrated in a singularly mean manner. In the late war, Bangarm had received two wounds, of a deadly nature and the Nawab with a pretended solicitude, sent his own men to dress his wunds and administer medicine. The physicians were instructed to mix poison so that the patient died within an hour of his taking it."[2] The story is apparently taken from the Pandion Chronicle, to which a reference is made by Nelson, but as Nelson himself would observe, it is highly improbable and

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1. Rangachari, History of the Kingdom of Madura, The Indian Antiquary, 1917, p.245.

2. Ibid., p.246.

certainly needs corrobora tion.[1] With the death of his father, Vijaya Kumara fled to Siva Ganga which extinguished for ever the last hopes of the Naik dynasty and the Madura kingdom passed finally into the hands of Anwar-ud-din.

Anwar-ud-din was not however, destined to enjoy the fruits of peace for long. The year 1748 produced five events of outstanding importance. The first was the liberation of Chanda Sahib from Satara, then the death of Muhammed Shah, the Mogul Emperor followed by that of Nizam-ul-mulk of the Deccan and finally the arrival of the French and the English squadrons on the Coromandel coast.

Chanda sahib, we have observed was made prisoner by the Mahrattas in 1741 when they occupied Trichinopoly. He was carried off to Satara and detained there in confinement till a handsome ransom was received for the release. Nawab Sabdar Ali always apprehending danger had paid annually a sum to the Mahrattas as the price of keeping Chanda Sahib in continuous imprisonment. But Anwar-ud-din, either from avarice or confidence or from want of means, stopped the payment[2] and there seemed every likelyhood that Chanda Sahib would soon procure his release. But his destiny was to remain at Satara for seven long years deprived of his liberty and his rights. During his confinment, which was by no means rigorous, he, contrived to carry on close correspondence with his friends in various provinces who would procure the means of inducing the Mahrattas to put him at liberty.[3] But the price, the Maharattas demanded was exhorbitant and no friends could be found who would pay the ransom demanded.

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1. Nelson, J. Madura Manual, p.268.
2. Wilk, Historical Sketches of South India, I, p.256.
3. Orme, ~~Historical Sketches of South India~~ History of the military transactions, I, p.118.

The wife and son of Chanda Sahib by name Roza Sahib had remained at Pondicherry from the time he was carried away prisoner by the Maharattas. Dupleix who became governor of Pondicherry a year after the capture treated the family of Chanda Sahib with the utmost respect and perceiving the anvantages he would procure by the liberation of that prince, he soon opened communications. These began as early as 1745.

In April 1748 Muhammed Shah of Delhi died. He was succeeded by his son Ahmed Shah, more incapable than his father to maintain the political unity of the empire. The death of Muhammed Shah was followed by, a few months later, by the more consequential death of Nizam-ul-mulk, Subah of Deccan at the ripe old age of 104. He left five sons:Gazi-ud-din Khan, Nazir Jang, Salabet Jang, Basalet Jang and Nizam Ali. The eldest Gazi-ud-din Khan was in the Imperial service and preferred to remain at Delhi. Nazir Jang, the second son had for some time commanded his father's army and having seized the treasures he stood a very fair chance to retain the sovereignity also. The other three sons were men of very little mark, content to live in ease at Aurangabad. Besides the five sons, the Nizam had a grandson, Hidayat-Mohy-ud--din-khan better known as Muzaffer Jang, the son of his favou rite daughter. This lad was the favourite of the Nizam, who had, it is said, nominated him his successor.[1]

At the time of the death of the Nizam Muzafar Jang was at Bijapur, while Nasir Jang with the support of the treasures and the troops declared himself the Subah of the Deccan.Muzzafar Jang not inclined to give up his pretensions without a struggle

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1. Ibid., p.124.

invoked the assistance of the Mahrattas, for which purpose he proceeded in person to Satara. There he met Chanda Sahib. The similarity of their fortunes clearly pointed to a union between the two young men a nd they agreed to endeavour to obtain assistance from the Mahrattas in their hazardous enterprise a nd persuade them to release Cha nda Sahib unconditionally.[1]

While the negotiations were in progress Chanda Sahib communicated the details to Dupleix, who was invited to take part in the project that afforded every promise of success. The scheme though very dangerous was alluring in the extreme. Pondering over the effects of the arrival of the two claimants into the Carnatic a nd the more than probable chances of success Dupleix already thought himself a king-ma ker and at once embra ced the project with all the enthusiasm of his nature. He wrote to Chanda Sahib to negotiate only for his release and engaged to stand guarantee for the ransom money that might be agreed upon.[2] The payment to the Mahrattas was fixed at 7,00,000 rupees,[3] and Chanda Sahib thus procured his release. According to the mutual agreement Chanda Sahib promised to take into his service 2,000 French sepoys and likewise agreed to make over to the French lands near Pondicherry in consideration of being assisted by a force of 400 Europeans.[4]

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1. Malleson, History of the French in India, pp. 234-235.

2. Ibid.

3. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p. 121 - ₹ 2,10,000 according to Ana nda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, V, p.97,n.1.

4. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.126.

The release of Chanda Saheb ogured evil for the Nawab. Anwar-u-deen Khan at this stage seemed particularly obsessed with trouble at all hands. On the death of the Nizam, the Nawab's authority in the Carnatic which was never popular was weakened. The disruptive forces once again broke loose. Murtaza Ali Khan, the governor of Vellor, whose evil genius seemed always ready to create trouble, collected troops with evil designs. He made direct proposals to Chanda Saheb by which, the latter was to receive Trichinopoly with the titles of the Nawab and the Foujdar and himself getting Vellore. The Raja of Tanjore once more proved refractory and would not pay the tribute unless the Nawab's troops were marched out to demand them at the point of the sword.[2] There were strong rumours of unrest in the kingdoms of Madura and Mysore, both of which were reported to be planning a revolution in favour of a Hindu rule.[3] The Poligars of the South, who were never completely subdued made predatory incursions into the province and were a source of great trouble.[4] Amidst these scenes of anarchy the news of the release of Chanda Sahib came as a great shock to the aged Nawab, who now realised that the time was not far off when he would be called upon to defend his kingdom by his sword.

In the meanwhile, the Anglo-French war had continued. Dupleix's designs against Fort St. David failed on two more occasions and the arrival of the English admiral Boscawen

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1. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, V, pp. 75, 96, 103, 147
2. Ibid, VI, p.63.
3. Ibid., V, p. 176.
4. Ibid., V, p. 177 ;VI, p. 63.

completely turned the scale. This was followed by the siege of Pondicherry, in which, each of the belligerent powers invoked the assistance of the Nawab. The Nawab could not help the English in face of the treaty with the French and he thought it to the best advantage to observe strict neutrality. Boscawen hoped to seduce the Nawab sooner or later and with that purpose the admiral supported his requisition for ~~x~~ assistance by considerable presents. He even promised him 100,000 pagodas, but the Nawab ~~eou~~ remained on the reserve.[1] It was not till the French were closely besieged at Pondicherry and not till every hope of any ~~assistance~~ resistance by the garrison seemed lost that the Nawab promised to assist the English with 1000 men;[2] although the force actually sent was no more than 300 and that too towards the conclusion of the siege.[3]

The failure of Boscawen was the last act of the ~~w~~ war being quickly followed by the news that the preliminaries of peace had been agreed upon in Europe at Aix-la-Chapelle. The peace restored Madras to the English and although it compelled the French to relinquish their conquests it added not a little to the "general belief in Dupleix good fortune." and caused the English to endure "the humiliation of having lost their principal settlement, of having failed to take Pondicherry, and of having recovered Madras, only in exchange for conquests made upon the other side of the globe."

Chanda Sahib who ~~whi~~ left Satara in the beginning of 1748, had hardly arrived on the western confines of the Carnatic when he heard of the siege of Pondicherry which made him suspend his march. Orme and Wilks ~~give us their~~

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1. Martineau, Dupleix et L'Inde Francaise, II p. 95.
2. Ibid., p. 496.
3. Malleson, The history of the French in india, p. 223.

give us their accounts of the movement of Chanda Sahib from this moment on to June 1749 when he actually entered the Carnatic. According to both these accounts Chanda Saheb attempted during this period to bring Bednore into subjection being invited for the purpose by the Raja of Chittledroog. The contest took place according to Wilks[1] at Myconda, south of Toombudra. It was sanguinery and obstinate . The Raja of Chittledroog lost both the battle and his life and Chanda Sahib himself was imprisoned and conducted in triumph to Bednore. The Ranee would have liked to detain him as a prisoner but he secured his liberty under the circumstances which appear to us most romantic. He was in the custody of the Mussalman troops, and having opened his way to the jamadars they not only resisted the orders of the Ranee but marched off under the command of the prisoner to follow his fortunes at Arcot. Orme's account[2] on the other hand gives complete victory to the arms of Chanda Sahib against Bednore. His courage and skill brought to his fold three thousand of the enemies' horse , who, after the defeat, offered their service to him; so that he soon found himself at the head of 6000 men with which he marched on to the frontiers of the Carnatic. Here he was joined by Muzaffar Jung at the head of 30,000.[3]

Vague news of the arrival of Chanda Sahib reached Anwar-ud-din at Arcot in June 1749. The hour of trial had atlast come. He heard likewise that Raja Sahib who was at Pondicherry was planning to join his father. He wrote to

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1. Wilks, Historical Sketches of South India, p. 257.
2. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p. 121.
3. Malleson, History of the French in India, p. 237.

Dupleix that Raja Sahib should be turned out of Pondicherry.[1] In the meanwhile he reformed his army enlisting none but the best men and horses. His whole army consisted of 10 to 12,000 cavalry, 6000 to 8000 infantry and 220 elephants. He had in his service 66 European gunners who were the main prop and support of the troops.[2] One measure necessary to his preservation he omitted; for he neglected to ask the assistance of the English even as his rival who was supported by the French.

Towards the end of July the French force of 420 soldiers and 2000 sepoys under the command of Raja Sahib and and M. d'Auteuil, joined Chanda Saheb at the Demalacherri pass which the latter had secured.[3] In allowing the French troops to join his adversary, the Nawab committed a blunder of the first magnitude which was to cost him the battle. Anwar-ud-deen had taken post at Amboor, about 30 miles to the south of the Demalcherri pass. The position he had selected was no doubt very strong. The mountains covered his camp on one side; on the other was a great lake, between which and the mountain lay the principal pass leading into the Carnatic. This had been fortified by intrenchments defended by the European gunners, and before which was a large ditch in which the waters of the lake had been drawn to prevent the passage of the enemy troops.[4]

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1. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, VI, p. 102

2. Memoirs sur les dernieres guerres des Norses aux Indes Orientales: Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, VIII, p.226; also Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p.126

3. Ibid., p. 127. Pillai tells us that Chanda Sahib entered the Carnatic from the Changanamah pass and that Nawab Anwar-u-deen Khan advanced to make his passage to Pondicherry. But his information is incomplete as regards further movements. Ananda Ranga Pillai, Private Diary, VI, pp. 138-147

4. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, 127

I t was the morning of the third of August when the combined army of Chanda Sahib and M.D'Auteuil came in sight of the Nawab's position. M. D'Auteuil offered to lead the attack with his own troops and Chanda Saheb gladly accepted such an offer. The French advanced to the assault. The troops attacked the Nawab's intrenchments with the greatest vivacity but were repulsed with equal vigour. D'Auteuil ~~re~~ rallied his men who returned once more to the charge. An hour of severe fighting was followed by a second retreat, D'Auteuil was wounded in the thigh by an arrow , and the command of the French troops now devolved upon M. Bussy. The French army was reanimated by the commander and the third attack was launched immediately.

The third attack was managed with great bravery and vigour. The French forced the Nawab's intrenchments and the ~~French~~ defence, staggered by the simultaneous attacks gave way. The victorious troops, now joined by the army under Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jung , pushed on towards the main body of the Nawab where his standard was displayed. The Nawab was mounted on an elephant and was animating his army to stand their ground and lead him to victory. The army came to close quarters when the news was spread that the Nawab's eldest son Mahfooz Khan was slain by a cannon shot. This apparently disasterous news infused in the old man the spirit of vengeance and he pushed forward his elephant to close with the standard of his rival. I n the melee he received a shot fram the musket of a French sepoy which penetrated his heart and he fell from his elephant dead on the field. The rest of the battle was only a general derout. The fugitives were pursued by the troops of Mussafar Jang and many of them were ~~taken~~ killed br

MADE IN NORWAY

or taken prisoners of war. The loss on the side of the Nawab was particularly heavy. Among those slain were some of the principal officers who, like the Nawab, had perished in the battle; among those who surrendered was Mahfooz Khan, the Nawab's eldest son; while among those who took to flight was his second son Muhammadally Khan who fled with all precipitation to the fort of Trichinopoly, there to proclaim himself as Nawab and to vainly carry on for a time the battles of his rights.[1] The French had no great loss to complain. Twelve of their battalions were killed, 63 wounded and about 300 of their sepoys killed or wounded. The camp, the baggage, the elephants, the horses and the artillery fell into the hands of the victors, who now pushed forward to secure the prize for which they had been fighting, Muzaffar Jang for the yet uncertain kingdom of the Deccan and Chanda Sahib for the kingdom of the Carnatic. They reached Arcot the next day, and took possession of the city without meeting any opposition.[2]

Nawab Anwar-udeen had ruled the Carnatic at the most critical juncture. Beset with difficulties on all hands, stamped with the suspicion of three murders, his rule was one of the restoration of peace out of the chaos and confusion of the Mahratta invasion of 1740. It cannot however be precisely said that the Nawab Anwar-ud-deen

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1. Ibid., pp 127-29. Also, Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses VIII, pp. 227

2. Orme, History of the Military Transactions, I, p. 129

succeeded in this peace mission; but he fought an up-hill battle with courage and determination which seemed to be the main trait of his character. His death on the field of battle at an advanced age of almost 90 years, in an heroic attempt to preserve his own kingdom was the most fitting end to his rule and "earned him a very great name in his world." Nasir Zang when he heard of the Nawab's death had words of highest commendation for his courage and regard for duty, for which he wished "God may enlight'n his Tomb with the light of his mercy and make his body sweet with the Odour of his Blessings."[1]

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1. Letter from Nazir Jang to Mahomedally Khan dated 10-8-1749 Records Fort St. George, Country Correspondence, 1749, p. 41, No. 137

C H A P T E R IX

CONCLUSION.

The battle of Amboor begins a totally new era in the Anglo-Indian relations. It had consequences far more definite and of more obvious political value than Paradi's victory at St. Thome, which has been considered a most important landmark in the Indian military history.[1] The struggle for the Nawabship of the Carnatic continued more bitterly than ever. Amidst the intrigues and faction spirit which every moment was becoming more vitulent , the foreign powers learnt to look far behind the establishment of mere commercial prosperity; they, now, for the first time, ~~learnt to look far behind the establishment of a mere commercial prosperity; they now~~ thought of the establishment of their own suzerainity over the peoples and kingdoms of India. They grasped the idea of assisting the Indian princes in their quarrels with each other, and in return for their assistance, to usurp the power and influence for themselves. The anarchy and wars in which the Carnatic relapsed now began, to be ended only by foreign conquests of the dynastic rule of the Nawabs of the Carnatic nearly three-fourths a century later.

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1. Malleson, A History of the French in India, p. 196

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154

THE EARLY NAWABS OF THE CARNATIC (1650-1750.)

prepared and submitted

by

B.A. NENTIN.

154

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C H A P T E R IX

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1. Malleson, A History of the French in India, p. 196